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Preface

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121 In the chapters to follow, I propose to publish part of the results obtained in the course of the expedition that I undertook in the Bolivian and Argentinian Chaco in my capacity as director of the Institute of Ethnology of the University of Tucumán.

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[101] This expedition took place from February to June, 1929. Its itinerary was the following: Having left Tucumán, I went by railroad to La Quiaca where I stayed for several days, making observations on the more or less half-breed natives of the region. From La Quiaca I went to Tarija, where I remained longer than I might have wished because of the suspicions my trip raised at the time of the Paraguayan-Bolivian conflict.

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103 After a 15-day stop I left Tarija to reach the Chiriguano tolderías of the upper Pilcomayo. I crossed the village of Santa Ana, then, the Alra del Cóndor, the Narvaez River, the post of San Diego, passed five kilometers from San Luis (Entre-Ríos) to stop at the Cuesta de San Simón, where I found the first Chiriguano. Once having crossed the Cuesta de San Simón I quickly reached the Salado River, then the Chiriguano villages of Timboy (Saladito). It was there that I made my best acquisitions of pottery and where I collected the oldest objects. The inhabitants of these rancherías, who live relatively far from the highway from Argentina to Santa Cruz, have preserved the traditions and culture of their ancestors better than their racial brothers have. From Saladito I reached the village of Itasiti and then Salado Grande, in order /296/ to reach the Pilcomayo at the confluence with the Salado. There, the Chiriguano villages are large and numerous. The most interesting are those of Nawirenda, Ihopeyti, and Yumbía.

After stopping for some time in this place, I continued my trip toward Huacaya and the mission of San Pascual de Boicovo.

In one day I went from Boicovo to Cuevo, going by way of the mission of Santa Rosa.

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[198] From Cuevo on I was in the mission of Ivu, which is without doubt the one where the old Chiriguano customs have undergone the fewest modifications.

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Father Bernardino de Nino, it is only a translation of Campana's article, filled out with copious borrowings from Cortado's work. Nevertheless the Reverend Father Bernardino de Nino added many very interesting details to the texts that he reproduces, which make consultation of his Etnografía chiriguana indispensable.

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My aim was to complete the work of my predecessors and to get together for the Museum of Tucumán a collection which would be truly representative of the last of the cultures which formerly flourished within the limits of the old gobernación of Tucumán. My Chiriguano collections, along with those collected by Nordenskiöld, are, I believe, the most complete ones from this region that exist in the world. They bear witness, I hope, to the richness of this area from an ethnographic point of view, a richness which has been left unexploited and which will disappear in a few years.

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May these pages demonstrate that every culture is a whole complex, so varied, that no ethnographer can study all its details in the course of a single trip. It is not useless to go back where others have preceded you, for, whatever their merits may have been, the material cannot be exhausted in one time.

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There remains the paying of a debt of gratitude by thanking Doctor J. B. Terán and Doctor J. Heller, who, as rector and vice-rector of the University of Tucumán, gave me the means to bring about this trip. The new rector of the University, Doctor J. Prebisch, granted me the sizable funds which publication of the results of this expedition required and supported constantly the Revue d'Ethnologie of my Institute. I am eager to make known to him here how grateful I am.

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I wish to express my thanks again to all those who helped me in the course of my trip: first and foremost the Franciscan missionaries who gave me generous hospitality and helped me as much as possible; my debt is particularly great to the Reverend Father Jocundo Ferrari, thanks to whom I was able to carry out without damage the transportation of my collections from the upper Pilcomayo to Cuevo; to Father Angriani who received me so frequently in his Iru mission. Neither do I wish to forget Fathers

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Mans used to cite to on the following examples: during the great war the French soldiers did not much like using English shovels different from their own, and vice versa. The Chiriguano I have seen laboring on military roads in Bolivia handle our shovels exactly like any European laborer; but back home, when it is a question of working a field, they return immediately to the ancestral gestures and are constrained to adapt the form of their instruments to them.

The handle fits into a handgrip carved out of a small block of wood and set in with the greatest care. The latter generally takes the shape of a crescent on which the hand rests comfortably. The handgrips with an elegant curve, which gave an aesthetic character to the ancient spades, have become very rare. In the course of /1926/ my trip I was able to acquire only two shovel handles which were provided with them. One comes from Itapeytl (Fig. 3) and the other was made for me by an old Indian of the Iva mission. The workmanship of this latter specimen is careless, but it reproduces fairly faithfully the ancient models (Fig. 4).

The use of the shovel among the Chiriguano probably dates back only three or four centuries. This instrument was unknown in ancient Paraguay where our Indians came from. The borrowing which could be presumed a priori has been confirmed by the discovery in the Quebrada de Humahuaca of wooden shovels similar in every detail to the ones I

Fig. 3. Shovel handle.
Prov.: Itapeytl. (1/11
nat. size.)

Fig. 4. Shovel handle.
Prov.: Iva. (1/8 nat.
size.)

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between the roof beams. Once out of this region the ethnographer will have all the difficulties in the world to acquire these weapons for his collections. If they are offered to him, they will be either a few souvenirs of former days kept by an old man or crudely made specimens without any value other than that of a toy or a sport accessory for some rare lover of hunting.

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The Indians of the semi-independent valley of Caipipendi are still, in some villages, capable of making a bow and using it. The arrows, which I bought from them in rather large quantity, almost all belonged to a single type and were intended, from what they told me, for killing the yaki (pavo del monte /wild turkey/ (Penelope sp.)). They are long rods armed with two barbed wooden rods (Plate XL 1). One must not conclude that the yaki, abundant as they may be, represent an appreciable food resource. Besides, hunting is scarcely practiced except by the young men, who do it for fun. The Indian who gave up to me the handiwork lot of these arrows felt some remorse about it; for, as he explained to me, /348/ they belonged to his little boy, who would not fail to cry when he found out that his father had sold them without his consent.

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Chiriguano children are even more ardent about shooting with a bow than ours. One can see them run around the village trying to shoot down with little miniature arrows (Plate XL 2 and 4) the birds which light within their reach. Contrary to what took place formerly, once grown up they will not benefit from the skill they have thus acquired. /Fig. 16 appears here./

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Some Indians of the Caipipendi valley told me large bunches of nandu feathers. I could not find out whether they had taken them from birds killed in the region or whether they had been hunting them in the east nearer to the great deserts. That would not have been at all improbable, for nandus are certainly not numerous in this region: in a month's stay I did not see any. These feathers serve for fashioning /Fig. 17 appears here/ feather dusters, which the Chiriguano sell in the

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[See Continues on p. 91]

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It is not so easy as one thinks to observe in detail the preparation of kāwi, and I am still at a loss to describe the stages in their exact sequence. This difficulty is due to the fact that kāwi is prepared over several days (generally three or four), and it is /Plate XV appears here/ /367/ difficult to be on the spot all the time so as not to miss any detail. Besides, as different families do not begin to prepare kāwi at the same time, confusion results; and it is hard to know at what point of the operation one finds oneself. Apparently I am not the only one to have come up against this obstacle, for it is enough to read the various descriptions devoted to this important occupation to become aware that they are far from agreeing.

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At the moment when the water is at the boiling point in the big vats, the burning pieces of wood and the live coals are scattered, and the corn flour is poured in, being stirred vigorously so that it will not form lumps. While this operation is performed, other women have pounded fine a certain quantity of corn, sifted it, winnowed it to rid it of any impurity, then roasted it in a large potsherd. As this flour is taken off the fire, the women chew part of it and spit this into a

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calabash. This paste impregnated with saliva is called temišu. According to Nino (p. 248), the Indian women mix the temišu with the corn broth which is cooking in the vats and with which they fill a pot.

The woman who busies herself with this mixture (umopirai) allows it to fall back in from a certain height "to give it sweetness."

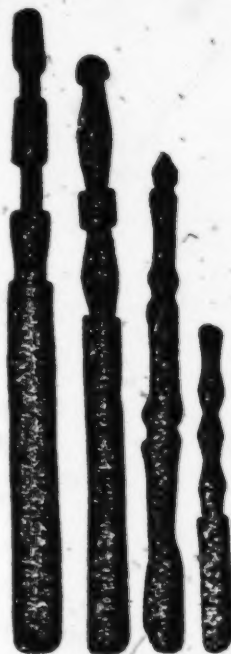


Fig. 32. Sticks for stirring the kāwi while it is cooking. No. 1 comes from Tigüipa; No. 2 from Ivus. Nos. 3 and 4 from Saledico (upper Pilcomayo). (1/3 nat. size.)

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Certain vessels (Fig. 35) have the exterior surface entirely covered with these depressions obtained by pressure of the thumbnail. The Indians call this decoration tatupire, that is "armadillo carapace." /Fig. 37 appears here/ a completely justifiable comparison.

One can consider as an evolution of the process of ornamentation by finger impressions the angles or chevrons which decorate the outside surface of the vessel of Figure 2, Plate XVI /see p. 125/, which have been incised in the soft clay with a pointed instrument. This type of ornamentation can be reduced to its simplest expression; thus on the neck of the vessel of Plate XVII, 2 /see p. 127/ it is limited to a row of little cavities made with a pointed stick. The small vessel of Figure 36 /see p. 128/ with a belly flattened from top to bottom belongs, from the decorative point of view, in the same category.

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On another vessel (Plate XVI, 1) the small nipples which project /372/ all around the belly constitute a summary decoration which completes that of the neck formed by finger-nail impressions. Pots of this type are found among the Ashluslay (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 65, p. 218).

This decoration is exceptional in South America. Jijon y Caamafio (p. 6) considers it characteristic of the northern part of Ecuador. He points out its distribution in Central America and in the Mound region in the United States.

• [126] The iru of Plate XVIII, Fig. 2 /see p. 131 / has the exact shape of a calabash; this resemblance was intentional, for the Indian woman who sold it to me presented it at the same time as the calabash which /Fig. 38 appears here/ had doubtless served as a model. Vessels which are almost replicas of this specimen have been found at Jachal and Calingasta in San Juan province in Argentina (Ambrosetti, 1, Plate VII, and Debenedetti, 3, Fig. 41, p. 69).

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The Chiriguano call the vessels in which the women draw the water they need for their households by the Quichua name iru. The iru are characterized not only by their more or less globular shape and the narrowness of the neck on top, but also by the quality of the paste from which they were

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323 The name tarawirisi is also given by the Chiriguano to ob-
386 jects resembling loaves of bread kneaded by hand which are
composed of a resinous material mixed with wax. According
to the explanations given me by the Indians themselves, this

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Fig. 60. Forked tree-trunk serving
as a shelf for putting vessels on.
(After a sketch by the author.)

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323 substance is taken from a mimosa. After being sprinkled with
386 boiling water, it is kneaded and dried in the sun. Its color
is yellow or red, but after firing it becomes black.

I could not learn whether this black glaze was applied over
a layer of black paint or spread directly on the walls of the vessel.
In every case the designs made by this process are much less
regular than the ones drawn with a brush.

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● [126] My collections of pottery, which consist of nearly 200
C pieces, do not contain any glazed specimen. Nordenskiöld (C
114 p. 144) assures us that the Chiriguano and the Chané of the
323 Parapití coat their yambui with a sort of gum called tarawisi, a
386 word which, except for one syllable, is the same as the one
designating the resinous substance we have just been considering.

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415 The plant kingdom hardly inspires Chiriguano artists. The
531 vessel of Plate LII, Fig. 3, is the only one whose decoration is
clearly phytomorphic; and again in this case I am not sure that

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Fig. 61. Fabrication of a vessel: the exterior surface is smoothed with a chip of bamboo after being flattened with the hand.

415 a European model did not serve as an intermediary between nature
531 and the picture the potter portrayed.

• [126] /390/ Among the 200 vessels I collected in Chiriguano
[179] country there is not one that includes a figuration of the human
face, with the exception of the one to which I have alluded,
whose form betrays the desire to satisfy the stupid puerility of
The Tourists.

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184 peculiar to the villages of the upper Pilcomayo and the Igüembé valley. The decoration made up of broken and asymmetric lines does not go beyond the zone of the Franciscan missions and the Itiyuro region.

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Fig. 62. Fabrication of a large vat: the roll of clay is rolled between the palms of the hands. (Photographs taken by the author at Masaví, Igüembé Valley.)

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Decline of the Art of Pottery among the Chiriguano

323 Of all the Chiriguano industries the most threatened one
 178 is doubtless ceramics. The Chiriguano can claim the glory of
 415 having been until recently the last Indians of South America
 /Fig. 64 appears here/ to have a pottery which deserved to be
 included in the number of beautiful manifestations of this art,
 so brilliantly represented in certain regions of the continent.
 Today things have changed a great deal. Villages in which
 one can still find women capable of decorating vessels with
 the mastery of former days have become rare and are limited
 415 to a restricted area. /394/ It was in the *tolderías* of the Timboy,
 126 the Great Salado and the Little Salado, in the region of Yumbía
 178 and in the Igüembé valley (upper Pilcomayo, departments of
 Tarija and Chuquisaca) that I was able to collect the finest
 specimens in my collection. Elsewhere it was exceptional
 /Fig. 65 appears here/ /see p. 166/ to be lucky enough to lay
 my hands on a fine piece; and, if I did have this luck several
 times, it was almost always a question of an old vessel pre-
 [197] served as if by a miracle. The Franciscan missions which
 formerly gave Nordenskiöld and Holmberg such fine specimens
 797 contributed less toward enriching my collections. Nothing ex-
 323 presses the sad state of decline of the Chiriguano better than
 415 what I /395/ could observe in the Macharetí mission. After
 178 going through nearly all the huts of this large village, which in
 [162] normal times has close to 2,000 inhabitants, I could scarcely
 acquire five or six yambuí having some artistic value. There
 [463] were no longer more than three or four women who still knew
 how to hold a brush and they had to /Fig. 66 appears here/ /see
 p. 167/ provide for almost the whole village. In a few years
 the ancient painted pottery will exist only in memory in the
 large village where the famous "Captain" Mandepona lived.

323 This decline has several causes. The first is the state of
 415 profound demoralization in which the Chiriguano are found, the
 178 total disorganization of their social life, and the increasing
 177 influence of the white men, followed by its corruptive effects:
 finally, the introduction of manufactured products, first and
 foremost gasoline cans.

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Fig. 65. Fabrication of a large vat: the potter impresses her thumbnail into the still soft clay to obtain a regular design.

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In some villages there are no more potters. The inhabitants of the toldería of Ibopeytí, for example, have to import the painted vessels they need to celebrate festivals. When I wanted to acquire them, it was generally objected that they had been bought and often at a very high price. "You go away and leave us without vessels," they often used to say to me as a half-joking, half-sad good-by after my raids.

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acted as masters and lords of the land, even to collecting a tax from the Chicha Indians. If they did not agree to this, they ate them and even 'had public meat markets for human flesh.' " /Translated from the Spanish./

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Chicha women certainly shared the fate of the Chané women reduced to slavery by the bellicose Chiriguano and, like them, brought the secrets of their civilization to their masters. On the upper Pilcomayo I acquired a vessel (Plate XXV), a Panpipe (Fig. 67), and a T-shaped ax (Plate XXIII, 1), found not far from the village of Ibopeytí, well within Chiriguano country. These objects reveal either the existence in this place of an ancient Andean population, Chicha or some other one, which the Chiriguano may have annihilated or assimilated, or active commercial exchanges. In the absence of concrete evidence, the influence of the neighboring Andean tribes would have been demonstrated by the very style of the pottery of this region, which more than that of any other point in Chiriguano territory continues a tradition peculiar to the peoples of southern Bolivia.

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Even today the Chiriguano receive from the half-breed descendants of the Chicha silver objects which probably used to be the object of an age-old traffic, and turquoise beads the latter unearth from the /Plate XXV appears here/ /399/ graves of their ancestors. On their part the Chiriguano go to sell ostrich plumes and pieces of basketry to the half-breeds and Quichua Indians.

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Southern Bolivia is very little known from an archeological point of view. The few excavations which have been carried out there testify that the culture peculiar to the Humahuaca valley continues without appreciable modification. The homogeneity of the civilization which flourished in these vast regions will be even more apparent on the day when the decision is made to undertake the systematic study of this immense territory which includes all the altiplano to the north of the Argentinian frontier and the valleys which form the spurs of the Andes at the edge of the Chaco. It is already evident

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[Text Continues on p. 173]

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415 following observation: "The dispersion and evolution of a type
171 of pottery whose /407/ origin must be assigned to the peoples
near the Isthmus of Panama can be due only to the Arawak,
who spread it among the nations living beyond the Andes, in
regions as southerly as the Chaco and the territory of Misiones (1).

1. Ambrosetti (2, p. 714) as a matter of
fact represents Kaingua vessels with a
circular foot. I doubt very much that these
pots reproduce a primitive type. They are
badly fired, badly modeled, asymmetric,
and the foot, which is fastened to the vessel
when the latter is finished, is easily detached
from it.

These vessels are perhaps crude imita-
tions of European pottery.

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171 In South America the Arawak have been the propagators of
Central-American culture among the primitive tribes located
east of the Andes."

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415 10. The distribution of vessels with a ribbed belly, of
171 which I acquired a marvelous specimen in the Caipipendi
valley (Plate XXVI, 2),² is almost the same as that of the
● [126] "compotes," and we can, as with the latter, rank them with
the pottery which shows a Central-American origin /Fig. 72
appears here/ and whose dispersion was the work of the
Arawak (Jijon y Caamaño, p. 5, Fig. 1 D).

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415 11. The vessel of Plate XXVII, 2,² is composed of two
171 superimposed domes: one in the shape of a truncated cone,
the other rounded. It comes from Ivu and is the only specimen
of this form that I encountered in the course of my trip. An
[172] identical vessel was dug up on the upper Paraná by Ambrosetti
(3, plate between pp. 256-257, Fig. 5). Similar receptacles
are still in use by the Yuruná /Yuruna/ Indians of the lower
Xingú (Steinen, 1, plate between pp. 266-267). The presence
of vessels of this type among the ancient Guaraní authorizes us
to suppose that our specimen from Ivu represents /408/ the
survival of an ancient form of Guaraní pottery which the

171 [See p. 179--Analys⁷] Chiriguano have not abandoned.
172 [See p. 183--Analys⁷]

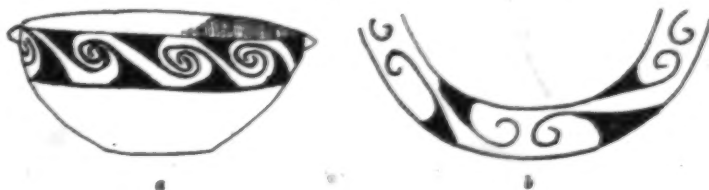
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On the other hand, the excavations carried out on the Isla de Tilcara have produced only a few specimens of pottery whose ornamentation was curvilinear. Debenedetti (2, p. 88) considers the latter, for reasons which I cannot accept, as foreign to the locality. Nevertheless, he has reproduced in his book the decoration of two dishes which is made up of facing triangles with volutes (Debenedetti, 2, Figs. 53 and 54, pp. 88-89) (Fig. 79); and he notes the same design on two other dishes which he does not reproduce. In the same publication (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 113, p. 165; Fig. 114, p. 166; Fig. 115, p. 166) are represented three vessels similar to the Chiriguano yapepo and also decorated with hooked triangles.

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/416/ The most interesting piece in this respect is the



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Fig. 79. a, bowl from the Isla de Tilcara, whose rim is decorated with facing voluted triangles; b, border of a dish decorated with voluted triangles (Isla Tilcara) (from Debenedetti).

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yuro of Figure 70 b, reproduced from a drawing given by Debenedetti (2, Fig. 124, p. 175). We have already seen that its form is identical with that of a Chiriguano iru I bought on the upper Pilcomayo. The same is true for the general elements of its decoration.

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The voluted triangle is found on three other pieces from the Isla de Tilcara (Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 160, p. 217; Figs. 161 and 163, p. 217), which Debenedetti (2, p. 218) classes among the pottery imported to the Isla de Tilcara and utilized by curacas /chiefs/. Our yambu from the upper Pilcomayo, which from the artistic point of view are very superior to the specimens described by Debenedetti, have often been bought

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531 by me in humble cabins whose owners were certainly not
415 curacas, but poor devils who had the luck to have a mother
121 or grandmother who was an expert potter. If the criterion of
[126] Mr. Debenedetti were admissible, the crude pottery and the
[114] fancy vessels which can be bought in every Chané or
C Chiriguano village would be products of two different civiliza-
415 tions. In reality the fancy pottery is used on feast days for
drinking chicha; and the other, more humble in appearance,
is adapted to daily needs.

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Fig. 80. Dish from Tilcara and decorated
with red voluted triangles on a white
background. (1/6 nat. size $\pm$.)

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Besides, the voluted triangle is more frequent on the
Gla de Tilcara than Debenedetti wishes us to think. In addi-
tion to the examples cited, seven others must be added
(Debenedetti, 2, Fig. 24, p. 59; Fig. 30, p. 63; Fig. 40,
p. 70; Fig. 48, p. 80; Fig. 165, p. 219; Fig. 165, pp. 219-
220). A vessel from Alfarcito in the same Quebrada bears a
triangle with volute on the inside rim of the neck (Debenedetti,
4, Fig. 15, p. 29).

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[286] The Chiriguano have their loom in common with many tribes
[17] of tropical America, and they doubtless were already acquainted
with it in Paraguay, at least in a more rudimentary form. In
some Chiriguano villages looms of the Inca or Quichua /Quechua/
type, that is to say, horizontal ones, can be seen. The warp is
then fastened to a small cord along a piece of wood and the cloth
is rolled around as it is produced.

[286] Headbands and belts are woven with looms of a type similar
[294] to the one just described. The warp threads are fastened to a
loop of cotton attached to a hut post. As the fabric is made it is
rolled around two small sticks or two ears of corn attached to the
lower end of the warp (for this type of loom, see Nordenskiöld,
10, Fig. 4, p. 175).

[29] I am reproducing in Fig. 95¹ a tsumbi headband. These orna-
[30] ments have now become very rare, and only a few old men still
wear them. Our specimen is dyed with natural colors.

[29] Every Indian woman who lives outside the influence of the
[198] missions still wears the tipoy, that is, a kind of long sheath which
they fasten on the shoulder nowadays with a safety pin and formerly
[286] /Plate LXXII appears here/ /435/ with a thorn. In olden times
these tipoy were woven by the Indian women on looms of the
Arawak type. They were of cotton and dyed blue-black. /Fig.
[439] 90 appears here./ Today it is almost impossible to find a woman
whose tipoy is not made of chamalote, a kind of cheap cotton cloth
which the Syrians and half-breeds sell at a high price to our Indians.
In the Caipipendí valley /Fig. 91 appears here/ I met two old
women who still kept the tipoy of olden times. They would not
give it up to me for any price. At Carurutí, an old fellow desirous
• [126] of striking a good bargain sold me his wife's at a very /436/ high
price in order to buy brandy for himself. It was very necessary
to celebrate Easter fittingly.

[178] The shirts (tiru-kumbaë) which the men formerly sported exist
no more except in the memory of the old men.
‡ [See p. 278--Analyst]

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174 /443 cont./ The center of dispersion of the Arawak must be placed to the north of the Amazon, and before the Chiriguano invasion the Arawak tribe of the Chané was established over the whole extent of the territory now occupied by the former.

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171 Beside this technique another exists, known to the Chiriguano since time immemorial and well before their great migration. The English-language ethnographers give it the name of twilled work. No other type of basketwork is so widespread. This technique is preponderant in all of tropical America from the Antilles to Paraguay and in the south stops at the Chaco. The Chiriguano are the only Indians of the Chaco among whom twilled work is in current use. This type of basketry used to exist on the coast of ancient Peru, but its importance there was not great and it appears only in work baskets.

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184 Basketry in wicker work and that in twined work do not have an identical distribution among the Chiriguano. Baskets of the first kind are numerous in the villages of the upper Pilcomayo (Saladito, Salado Grande and Chico, Ibopeytí, and Yumbía) and go as far as the Ivu mission. They stop, or are rare, in the rest of the Chiriguano country, notably in the Caipipendí valley, where baskets of the second type (twilled work) predominate almost exclusively. These are widespread there, and the beauty of their workmanship, the embellishments with which they are provided, put them well above the basketwork of any other zone and even above that of tribes living in regions richer in palm trees.

● [126] In the huts of the upper Pilcomayo I collected several baskets in twilled work, but they were rare there and often incomplete and torn. I had the impression that they had arrived there by way of commercial exchanges. In any case, the Indians no longer plait baskets of this type, and it is possible that their disappearance has given value to the specimens of them which remain. That would explain the absence of any new specimen and the preservation of ancient baskets almost beyond usefulness. Be that as it may, at present the true center of basketry in twilled work is the Caipipendí valley, and that of the basketry of /444/ wicker work, the region of the upper Pilcomayo. Since the living conditions of the
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[178] Chiriguano in the missions north and south of the Pilcomayo have undergone deep modifications, I do not know what the respective

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Chapter X

Masks

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The handsome masks, whose description I shall give further on, are worn during the carnival festivities. Difficulties with the Bolivian authorities kept me from arriving in the Chiriguano villages at the time when they were taking place. When I finally found myself among my Chiriguano friends, they had emptied the last vats of kāwi and were /463/ in their normal state. Thanks to the closeness of the feast I was able to collect the masks published here; ordinarily they are destroyed or used in the fields as scarecrows.

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My host, Mr. Alberto Torrejon, who lives at Ibopeyti on the upper Pilcomayo in an Indian village, gave me some very interesting details about the ceremonies and merrymaking in which he had just participated. I transcribe them as given.

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At my approach of any festival, the carnival, for example, the first act consists in causing the souls of the dead to flee. If this precaution is not taken, the widows and relatives of the deceased will have to abstain from taking part. For the purpose of purifying the air, a drum is beaten, and the whole family /Fig. 120 appears here/ which has lost a member weeps and shouts. When the spirits have cleared out, the drum, in a joyful rhythm, gives the signal for merrymaking.

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The festival is opened by a man and a woman who, with a stick decorated with flowers in hand, advance toward the middle of the square, followed by all the inhabitants in a long chain. When they have arrived at the middle of the area extending between the huts, the couple plants this sign, thus giving the signal for the festival.

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The chain breaks up and small groups form to dance in a ring. Their dance consists in advancing and retreating in triple time to the sound of flutes and drums.

/473/

Chapter XIII

Toys and Games

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[126]

All the toys which Chiriguano parents make for their children or the latter put together themselves are represented in my collections. Nevertheless, I consider it useless to give a description of them, for Nordenskiöld (2, pp. 193-200) has been greatly /Fig. 133 appears here/ concerned with this and has reproduced all of them. Simply as a curiosity I sketch a doll clothed in the traditional tipoy and the hair of which is intertwined with a ribbon in the Chiriguano manner (Fig. 133). A little bag (Fig. 134) contains a whole assortment of tipoy in miniature. Minuscule vessels and baskets (Fig. 109) have been made for the use of little girls, who, in playing, thus learn little by little to become excellent housewives.

[868]

String figures. I have never seen children make string figures (cat-cradle /cat's cradle/), but I know they are acquainted with them. At Caruruti an Indian amused himself by executing a whole series for me, some of which were sewn by the Indians themselves onto the leaves of my notebook. According to the figure they wanted to produce, they used both hands or helped with the mouth and feet (Figs. 135 and 136). The "full moon" (Plate XXXIX, 3) /Fig. 134 appears here/ was made by my Indian who, having sat down, used feet and hands.

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String figures have extraordinary interest from the point of view of comparative ethnography. If they prove themselves identical in two different regions, they can testify to trade or migrations, like certain games which pass from one region to the other without modifying their character or modalities. Games are the most stable of all cultural elements since they are independent of the environment, race, or way of life, at least in general. It is urgent to collect in South America /474/ the greatest possible number of string figures in order to be able to study their distribution. For this continent we know only a very small number, but this, insignificant as it may be, already allows us to establish some very curious facts.

[Text Continues on p. 346]

/476 cont./

123 Drawings. On Plates XCI-XCIII one can see gathered to-
 126 gether a certain number of drawings executed for my sake by
 532 Chiriguano Indians. In order to obtain them I first approached
 123 several old men, who refused with an outraged air as if I were
 126 asking them to do a thing beneath their dignity. A small boy
 115 of 12, Conaito, two young men, Aensio and José Miguel, and
 532



Fig. 136. Indian executing the mobile string figure called
 "culo de caballo /horse's rear end/.

123 a girl, Iwawapi, showed themselves willing to cover the pages
 126 of my album with all kinds of sketches.
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Conaito did not have to be begged: I was proposing to him
 a game not only pleasant but fruitful, and he had soon filled
 two pages (Plate XCI, 1, 2, 4, 9; Plate XCII, 2, 4; Plate
 115 XCIII, 1, 3, 10). Aensio, my faithful friend, also gave me
 123 complete satisfaction. He was a curious individual, and I keep
 126 a particularly vivid and congenial memory of him. He was 25
 to 30 years old and was conspicuous because of his extraordinary
 activity and ingenuity. At any moment of the day he could
 [322] be seen busy cutting or carving a piece of wood which then
 1 [See pp 355-357-- Analyst]

/476 cont./

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[463] became an ingeniously conceived tool or still oftener a musical instrument. Asensio used to make violins which on first sight appeared to have come from a European factory. It goes without saying that he was the recognized carpenter of the village and the great provider of household articles. When Asensio had understood the purpose which had brought me to his home, he transformed his hut into a workshop for ethnographic objects; and I owe it to his enterprising spirit that I was able to collect many a piece, today no longer in use, which he reconstructed for me.

[532] At the time when I was in his village, Asensio had received big orders for flutes for the coming Easter festival, and I had a good time watching him work. Once an instrument was finished, he would embellish it with engraved animals.

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532 The material on which Asensio (see Plate XCI /see p.355/, 5, 7., and Plate XCII /see p.356 /, 3, 6) incised his figures exerted an indirect influence on the pencil drawings he drew in my notebook. They stand out by their angular character, but also by their clearness.

[177] José Miguel (see Plate XCI, 8; Plate XCII, 1, 5, 7, 9; Plate XCIII /see p. 357 /, 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12), whom Asensio's example had encouraged, asked me to give him the notebook and pencil, and he made me a whole series of drawings which, although rather light and uncertain, sometimes are not lacking in a certain movement. José Miguel had traveled to Argentina: the train and the automobile (which he drew from memory) attest well to his admiration for the /477/ marvels of "Progress" (Plate XCII, 7, 8). Thank God his modernism had not made him forget his mythology, and he was able to draw for me a mythical episode which is to be seen on Plate XCIII, 12, A, B, C: the blue jaguar (yaguarowi, personification of the spots on the moon) is preparing to devour the moon and the sun.

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532 When I had finished with the men, I wanted to have several feminine drawings, imagining that the women would lend themselves willingly to this game since they are the recognized artists of the tribe. All, unanimously and to my great surprise, refused to do it, shouting in the middle of gales of laughter: Aikuag "I can't do it, I don't know how."

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laughtert Aikuaá "I can't do it, I don't know how." Only one, a girl, Iwawasei, allowed herself to be persuaded by the promise of a spool of thread. Her awkwardness was not feigned, as I was able to see from the beginning, seeing the embarrassed air with which she took the pencil. Once ready to draw, inspiration was suddenly lacking. She stopped short until I had pointed out a vessel to her to copy. Since her confusion only grew greater, she asked Consito, the small boy who made my first drawings, to help her. He drew the vessel on Plate XCIII, 10, which she began conscientiously to reproduce in series. I protested, and then she made me a horse and on this horse's back a man and a child, then a woman (Plate XCI, 3 and XCIII, 7). I am not very sure that all the drawings she told me she had made were hers, for when my attention was diverted by a visit, she had Consito secretly help her.

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The drawings the Chiriguano executed for my sake recall not only those of our children but approximate appreciably those which have been collected in various regions of South America, notably among the tribes of the Negro River (Koch-Grünberg, 1); the Taulipang and the Makúji (Koch-Grünberg, 3, Plates 28-32, pp. 128-161); the Indians of the upper Xingu (Steinen, 2, Plates III-IV), (Max Schmidt, 2, Figs. 245-247, pp. 396-398); the Choroti and the Ashlulay (Nordenskiöld, 2, Figs. 63-66, pp. 130-132); the Kaingúá (Ambrosetti, 2, Plates 1-III, pp. 674-682), etc.

There could be no question of making a comparative study of these drawings, so uniform is their style. The only details which are worth being brought together are those denoting similar psychological characteristics and yet these common traits are not characteristic of a primitive mentality. I should scarcely have to point out the fact that in drawing a woman, a Kaingúá Indian proceeded exactly as did two of my Chiriguano artists (Plate XCI, 3 and 7): he began by representing the woman naked, then dressed her.

1199/

Chapter Three

Characteristics of the Chiriguano

Introduction

At the end of the nineteenth century, and specifically in the year 1897, the whole Catholic world was invited in advance to attend the great exhibition of sacred art which took place in Turin, beautiful and grand Italian city of the Piedmont. The Pontiff of Rome made his voice heard and the Catholics of the five parts of the terrestrial world made preparations to participate in the literary, scientific, manufacturing industry, and other competitions.

The missions could not fail to take part in this contest of competency: they could not close their ears to the voice of the Supreme Hierarchy of the world; with the fervor of the first Christians, with the humility of neophytes, directed by missionaries of all of the Catholic orders and congregations, they prepared an extraordinary contest. In Turin were seen the rarities and products of the missions of China, Africa, Palestine, North America, the colony of Eritrea, Oceania, Patagonia, South America, etc.

Although Bolivia occupies a quite modest place on maps of the world and is slowly being organized to rise to a very great height, it exhibited its products in the said world exposition and was even represented by its tribes. They sent there everything that could be sent from the missions of Guarayo, the missions of Tarija, and those of Potosí. It was then that an Italian photographer, employed in Tarija, went through its missions and those of Potosí, taking pictures of views, panoramas, groups of Chiriguano, families, churches, missionaries, etc. (1).

1. The order to take part came from the Curia Generalicia of Rome and the Most Reverend Father Commissioner in Bolivia disposed that the Colegio of Potosí be united

/109 cont./

with that of Tarija because the inhabitants of the missions of both colonies were of the same Chiriguano race.

/110/ The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 148/ is one of the said photographs; it shows a group of Chiriguano women with their festive clothing and adornments, who are ready to attend a public gathering for drinking; it was made in the Bolívar Mission and taken with the others to the exposition. The group of Indian day laborers is reserved for the chapter which deals with work and chores; both groups show the physical constitution of the race, about which Belfor del Campese, after the exposition was over, wrote his book; perhaps this gentleman also had seen the four Chiriguano who were brought from the Tarija colonies (1).

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1. Notizie intorno ai Chiriguani /Information on the Chiriguano/. Florence, 1891. This is the most complete work that exists in Italy, in view of which I decided to write the present one here where the Chiriguano live.

Physique

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After having studied the territory that a tribe occupies and consigned to paper what is most characteristic, and, next, having discovered appropriately by means of traditional and historical data or well-founded suppositions the origin and derivation of the tribe, the first thing that is exhibited to the ethnographer and to any observer is the physical body; its proportions, whether large, small, or average, soon strike the eye, the latter, the observer, considers mentally what the former, the physical ethnographer, sees, and begins his narration and then goes on to the character.

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Clothing in the fashion of Adam is still seen everywhere. In the towns the men, and almost everywhere the women, are at least dressed from the waist to below the knee, because for work or for costume the Cotama or tipoy, which can cover them up to the shoulders, is allowed to fall to the waist, the rest being left visible.

Gala Dress

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For the ancient Chiriguano, the Ambicual, doublet, was fine and festive clothing. This single name includes the Guampi rangas, hat, the Ambicual, sagum or frock coat, and the Guampi timbale, breeches. Because the doublet is an object of luxury, they do not all wear it, its use being limited to the grandees or caciques, to rich men, and to stereos. It is made entirely of tanned skin, which are those of the wild boar, peccary, or pygmy deer. They are tanned with the bark of the Curupay, the astrogone ascia or avil, which contains a great deal of tannin.

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Skillful men are needed to make a complete doublet like the one made in the Santa Rosa Mission by the Indian Cachupari, which, when taken to the Turin exposition, was acquired by the Florence Museum, along with the skull that I acquired in Curupay and other objects, such as the Yandigua, a kind of parasol of ostrich feathers, etc., objects which the missionaries of Potosí sent along with the missionaries of Tarija (7).

2. The missionary who was charged with taking all the things to the exposition and leading the Chiriguano of both sexes, as the program directed, was the late Franciscan Father Domingo Glanzerchini.

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The crown of the hat is made of four oval parts, as is the brim which surrounds it, sewed with fine cords of the same material, and the edge of the brim is turned upward. The hat has a band of the same material sewed to both sides at the temples to hold it to the throat; a knot or a ring on the band can be used to tighten it.

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The Ambícuai, which lends its name to the whole outfit, is a perfect cassock, but its form is entirely Chiriguano, for it does not hinder the movement of the arms. Its cut is not straight, and both parts are made fast at the chest with two leather straps, which are run through the holes on the opposite side. The cassock in back ends in two points, where there is a kind of ornamentation of the same leather, which consists of short, fine strips, like a tassel. The sleeves are wide, as is the whole garment, and are attached to the shoulder, being open at the armpit so as not to impede the movement of the arms, either in hunting or in war, where the grandeos also wear it. In fact, in the photograph taken in Santa Rosa to be sent to the exposition, a hunter and a warrior dressed in this doublet appear outside the circle. In the middle there is a Chiriguano woman with her crown and adornments as queen of the fiesta, who offers chicha to all who are enjoying themselves (1).

• [126]

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1. The queen is the one who serves the dancers as mistress and patroness of the fiesta. This photograph or figure will not be reproduced in the chapter dealing with fiestas because I could not obtain it.

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The Timbiao, breeches, is also of leather and is made of four pieces, wider from the waist to the sacrum and narrower from the thigh to the bottom. It is quite wide and comes to the ankle. It is rougher than the rest, but more valued, and they will give anything to have even a single pair. This garment is tied at the waist with a belt or with two strings which are sewed across the entire width of the garment itself.

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I am going to end this chapter by mentioning a fancy ornament which has completely disappeared. It is a woman's ornament and is called Aguá, crown, and whoever wore it was called Cufia aguá vaé, crowned woman. The duty of this woman at the public drinking bouts and solemnities was to direct the women's dance, to direct the singing, and to give drinks to the singers and dancers with her own hands. The aguá was a varicolored band up to three meters long, which was put around the head, crossed at the back of the neck, and held on by thorns, needles, or big silver pins, and both ends terminated in tassels of various colors. It was a very striking ornament (1).

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1. In order to send a complete aguá to the Turin exposition I had to have it made in the girls' school in Santa Rosa. I could not get one in the town; there were none even at that time.

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Here is poor humanity without any exact idea of religion and worship, they are zealous and hard-working for the body, but have no concern at all for the soul. Only Christ can restore humankind, and tear away the veil which was obscuring its intelligence, and only the priest and Catholic missionary can teach him the sound doctrine of /199/ immortality and other dogmas, so that with this knowledge he may first seek the kingdom of God and receive the rest besides (1).

1. Quaerite primum regnum Dei et haec omnia adiicentur vobis.

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Explanation of the Preceding Illustration 1

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1. Sticks for getting fire.
2. Bull's horn for use as a musical instrument.
3. Tail of a quiriquincho /armadillo/ for use as a musical instrument.
4. Tweezers for pulling out the hair from the face and other parts.

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λ [i.e., on p. 266. - Analyst]

/216/

Chapter Nine

Children, Puberty, the Tembete (1)

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1. This will deal with the puberty of the girls and the imposition of the tembete for boys, which is carried out a little before their puberty, so that when this does appear they will have the mark of manhood.

Introduction

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533 At the beginning of this chapter /see p. 294/ my readers will see a small band of young, luxuriously uniformed musicians with a Franciscan missionary at their side. These are the musicians of San Buenaventura de Ivu, whose photograph was taken on the pastoral visit made by the renowned and wise Delegate General M. R. P. Wolfango Privaser, illustrious and glorious in the seraphic religion, on the 23rd day of September, 1908. His secretary, the intelligent Father Angel Domáica, was the one who was charged with taking this group and the others in the Potosí and Tarija missions.

• [126] All the musicians are Chiriguano boys whose fathers were in the 1892 uprising in the fields of Curuyuqui, half a league away from what is today the mission building, which at that time did not exist. They are the sons of fathers who all wear the tembete and of mothers who in their puberty underwent the strict tests which I shall relate in this chapter.

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648 Their fathers declared war to the death, not on the Cross, but on the white, be he Christian or not, because he saw in him a tyrant and hangman, and he wished to cast off the yoke by destroying the one whom he considered its maker. But it is certain that the Indian in his hate and rancor, which he has consistently maintained /illustration appears here/ /217/ against the caray /white man/, did not know how to make a categorical distinction, because not all have bad hearts. If there are some bad ones, real executioners of humanity, there are also very good and compassionate ones, from whom they received and still receive favors.

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562 The drinking continues for several hours, half in silence with a moderate and placid gathering, with the important men seated on benches or seats and some of their inferiors standing and others sitting on the ground, all of them separated from the women, and these latter, as I have already observed elsewhere, look like so many mortars. When the gathering is well attended, the sight is very pleasant, because anyone who has never seen it will be astonished by the variety of costumes and by the ornaments and cosmetics with which they adorn their faces and feet, and I have in fact seen some travelers stay for quite some time to contemplate this simple custom of those who are called the savages of Bolivia (2).

2. What a pity that there is no photograph of such gatherings! The one taken in Santa Rosa is scarcely a simulacre, since at that time there was not even any chicha for those who formed the wheel or gathering for the dance to drink.

The Dance and Songs

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126 By the time they are quite full, they begin the dancing and singing of the Ayarise. I do not give the Spanish words here, for the real meaning is not known; I could explain them with conjectures and by analogy with other, similar ones, as was done by Father Giannecchini, whose words the Italian del Campano transcribes in his book, but they themselves do not know the meaning. The notes of the Ayarise are written and printed here so that any band that so desires may have a pleasant piece for some capital plaza: risum teneatis amici. The band music was set down by a maestro of the Potosí missions in the year 1903 and touched up this year by the missionary Franciscan Father Domingo F. Regini.

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The Music for the Ayarise

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The signal for the dancing and singing is given by the host, who first makes a short speech to the maestro, who is carrying in his hands a Yandugua, a kind of parasol or umbrella made of ostrich feathers fastened around a long, straight piece of hollow cane. All the feathers have their natural curve outward (1).

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1. The Yandugua in the Florence museum was purchased in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission by the Reverend Father Prefect Friar Romualdo d'Ambrogi, tireless missionary of Potosí.

See the picture on page 77.

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After the speech that the maestro and dancers listen to as if it were a Good Friday sermon in church, the singing and the dance begin. The maestro keeps time with his yandugua, the men dance by moving their feet from the knee, striking the ground without moving from the place they occupy, and the women behind the men with a maté in hand, full of chicha or not. The women take one step backward and another forward, and, not staying in the same place, they walk in time around the men with the formality and exactness of priestesses and hold hands with the other hand, two by two.

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The larger the number of dancers, the more noise they make; there is no staying near them, because the men sing too loud. At a distance, to a person who is used to these songs, they seem relatively pleasant, but at night when one hears them for the first time and does not know what they contain, a thousand things will pass through the mind. Here are the verses of the Ayarise:

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Ayarise, rise -- Mborisese, sese -- Rosa yainde -- Imbaragüe -- Yuma chürere -- Yuma chuépa -- Soro poco -- Eh! Eh! -- Saisá -- saisá -- Cururu hetesimi pinte -- Hevi sunzu -- Iparanta tapiti -- Cha machá imbarayu -- Imbará, boteriyu -- Eh! Eh! (2).

2. It is perhaps appropriate and my readers may like

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the race can endure for a longer time. The same is true, if, instead of forts, the Government, at less expense, were to found missions in the places which are being explored at the present time; useful hands would be obtained for commerce and for agriculture, without the destruction of the poor humanity.

I finish by giving thanks to the Divine Providence which has brought about here the civilization of the race, utilizing for this purpose its simple and humble subjects, such as the sons of Francis of Assisi, who came to this New World immediately after it was discovered.

To those readers who have followed me benevolently and to those who have charitably criticized my poor writing, I give my sincere thanks and at the same time pray that they will deign to pardon such errors as they might find. Laus Deo.

End of the Work

/Illustration appears here./

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Appendix

The time and place do not now permit me to draw a map of the entire region that I have described in the first chapter of this ethnography; nor do they permit me to write clearly about the other tribes which populate the eastern part of the Bolivian Chaco, which has recently been explored (1).

1. I believed that a map was indispensable for the "Guide to the Chaco." I drew it recently, and it is soon to be published at the expense of the Supreme Government. I may perhaps get an extra run of 1,000 copies for the present work.

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PREFACE.

As I mentioned in the preface to the First Part of this work, the expenses of publication have been defrayed by Consul-General Axel A:son Johnson, Esq., of Stockholm, to whom I have taken the liberty of dedicating this, the second part of my book, as a small token of my appreciation of the interest and kindness he has shown towards my South American researches. I also mentioned in the earlier preface that Consul-General Johnson has in every way tried to further Swedish researches in S. America, above all by granting free passages to all the Swedish explorers visiting that continent on board his comfortable and stately ships.

This work is based on collections made by me in S. America, as well as on the study of material in museums and of books (See Part 1). I would remind my readers that these researches have been carried out with the support of Swedish patrons of research-work, notably Arvid Hernmarck, Esq., and Mrs. Ina Smitt.

I have to thank several of my friends and colleagues for valuable communications, which I have made use of in one way or another in the present work. These are: Mr. Kaj Birket-Smith of the National Museum, Copenhagen (M. C.), Dr. G. Friederici, Dr. R. Karsten, Prof. Dr. Th. Koch-Grünberg, Director of the Ethnological Museum, Stuttgart, Dr. F. Krause, Ethnological Museum, Leipsic, Dr. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, Royal Ethnographical Museum, Leiden, Licentiate Sven Lovén, Prof. Dr. Max Schmidt, Ethnological Museum, Berlin, (M. J. V. B.) and Dr. Max Uhle. Every possible courtesy has been shown me by the Riksmuseum,

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Indians in the years 1908, 1909 and 1913, and spent in all 4 to 5 months studying them. In my book «Indianlif» I gave a popular account of them as I got to know them during the Hernmarck expedition in 1908 and 1909. In my last book of travel «Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika» there is some information about the Chiriguano. I have brought home to Sweden from the Chiriguano and Chané about 1500 articles which are now in the Riksmuseum at Stockholm and in the Gothenburg Museum. In the Geographical Review I wrote a short article on the migrations of the Chiriguano Indians.

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A close study of the Chiriguano and Chané civilization by the ethno-geographical method affords points of especial interest, since their mode of life is rather well known, and we are able to trace their history back to the beginning of the 16th century. I have also collected archaeological material from their region. At first I was minded to give an account of this, too, in the present work. I decided, however, that it would be better here only to mention individual finds by the way, and to leave the archaeological material for another publication in which I shall be able also to publish certain archaeological finds made in other parts of Bolivia. This for purely practical reasons.

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I will here endeavour to make clear how the Guarani-speaking Chiriguano's and the Guaraniized Chanés' civilization are composed, what culture-elements they have got from the Whites and from the Mountain civilization in the west, what each brought to the common stock and what they possibly obtained from other quarters.

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In this analysis of Chiriguano and Chané manners and customs, I do not intend properly to examine the question as to whence these Indians came to their present abodes. Broadly speaking we know that already. Respecting the Chiriguano migrations there are historical documents extant which evidently show that it was not until the beginning of the 16th century that these Indians conquered

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On very rare occasions one sees clothes of tanned skin worn by the men. As far back as CHOMÉ³⁾ these skin clothes

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Fig. 19. Chanéboy in schiripa. Rio Parapiti.

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were mentioned. I have obtained a costume of the kind consisting of a coat, breeches, and a hat. They are

³⁾ P. 330.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,⁴ (1908-1909, 1913) 1920

SF10 Chiriguano SF10 ●

Chané SF8

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of European cut and have most certainly come from the Whites. According to Nino¹) they were also sometimes made by the Indians themselves. I do not think this is the case with the costume I have collected.

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Fig. 20. Chanéwoman in Tipoy. Rio Parapiti.

The «tipoy» is the typical dress of the Chiriguano and Chané women. It is a sack of cotton or wool open at both ends and woven without seam. The tipoy for every day wear is of normal length. (Fig. 21) On festive oc-
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¹) P. 189.

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The Chiriguano, as well as the Chané at Rio Itiyuro, have elaborate pottery of richly varied shapes and often beautifully ornamented. The Chané at Rio Parapiti have plainer pottery. The development of the ceramic art in the various tribes I got to know has differed greatly. The Chánia and the Tambopata-Guarayo who are pretty certainly identical with them, are the only Indians I visited who have no earthenware vessels. The pottery of some tribes is a work of art, while others only make the most necessary household utensils. This is not necessarily connected with the tribe's state of civilization generally. Thus in several respects the Yuracaré stand as high as the Chiriguano but the former have very poor pottery; the latter highly developed pottery. If such peoples were studied archaeologically, the former would yield hardly any remains while the latter would yield many beautiful specimens. Wrong conclusions might then be easily drawn as to the stage of civilization of the two tribes.

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Below will be found indicated how many different types of earthen vessels are found among the tribes I visited. It will be seen that the Chiriguano and Chané (Rio Itiyuro) have by far the largest number of shapes of earthen vessels.¹⁾ This is simply due to their having experienced such

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¹⁾ On entering a Chiriguano or a Chané hut, one sees a lot of earthen vessels of which the majority are unpainted. All the vessels of various shape and ornamentation which I have collected are from several hundred Chiriguano and Chané huts. It is a selection out of many thousand vessels which I have made and it shows how pottery varies within the tribes. In most Indian huts there will be found but a small number of different types. Unless we bear in mind that the collection is a selection, it leaves the impression that the pottery of these Indians is of much more varied shape than is really the case. What I remark here of my collection of pottery holds good of nearly all collections in ethnographical museums. When we see a cupboard full of various articles from an Indian tribe, we must not think that all these things are used by every family in the tribe. It is properly a collection of all the different objects used by a large number of individuals.

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One might be surprised that a person would want to live in this treeless valley, where one finds only salty, dirty water, but in the Caipipendi valley one need not drink water, for here the maize yields magnificent harvests and there is never a shortage of maize beer. The inhabitants of the Caipipendi valley are wealthy, and if there is famine in other regions, the Indians come from afar to these kinsmen, in order to barter their valuables for maize.

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For the collector, too, it is a magnificent valley. We found silver ornaments, silver bowls, finely carved musical instruments, and many other rare articles in this ethnographer's paradise. Stone axes, ruins, diggings /Grabfelder/ of various peoples prove that the Caipipendi valley has long been highly prized by the Indians.

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The water has cut deeply into this valley. In the rainy season it probably rains there too.

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From Caipipendi I returned over the mountains, through a /155/ valley famous for its hot springs and its beauty, to Charagua, to continue then along the Andes in the direction of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

114
[32]

It was October, 1908. Not quite a year later, in July, 1909, I again visited the Chaco, after extensive river journeys far beyond, on the border of Brazil. In another book I shall describe these journeys on large, navigable rivers and through virgin forests whose luxuriant green is overpowering.

From Santa Cruz de la Sierra I returned, as was said, to the Chaco in July, 1909. I then traveled first of all by way of the Rio Grande to the Rio Parapiti, chiefly to visit my friend Batirayu.

The Rio Grande is the southernmost tributary of the Amazon River. It comes from the highest mountains of the Andes and flows past Sucre, a city that has long contended with the city of La Paz for the rank of capital of Bolivia. When it emerges from the mountains, it is a roaring, mighty river. Farther down it has an extremely changeable, very little known course. North of Santa Cruz de la Sierra the Rio Grande receives the Rio

133

/157 cont. / *One old woman who was*
supposed to know Chané very well said she would teach me after
she had reached the realm of the dead. Since the Indians in
this happy place are not bothered by whites, and not by eth-
nographers either, the promise of the old woman was not very
friendly,

The Chané use their old language for many expressions
that are abusive, for example, karitimisóyti, which they trans-
late as son of a w---e. An invitation to coitus is called
pocóne. There are also songs in their /158/ old language, for
example, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé, siparakinánoyé,
tonéya, tonéya, tonéya, which they did not know how to translate.

From the Rio Parapiti I again visited the Chiriguano chief
Taruri in the Caipipendi valley, where I sought to buy as many
old ornaments and other valuables as possible. Besides Taruri
I also visited another chief, Yumbay, an old worthy who was
always embracing me and saying: "I am Yumbay." /Fig. 77
appears here. / "Yes, the great, mighty Yumbay," I chimed in,
which made the poor reduced fellow feel very flattered.

From the Caipipendi valley I went by way of Pipi to the
mission at Ivu. This lies in an arid, lonely region with little
water, near several huge mountains, and the life there must be
dreadful. When smallpox was very prevalent in the region,
Father Bernardino successfully prevented the disease from spread-
ing into the mission by vaccinating all the Indians living at the
place. Father Bernardino is a truly unselfish human being, a
genuine missionary. As a result of the vaccination, no one in
Ivu died of smallpox, whereas the sinister disease raged fright-
fully among the whites a few miles from the station. It almost
served them right. If anyone died of smallpox, the corpse was
laid on a table decorated with paper flowers and a crucifix.
Around this the other swine would get drunk and /159/ continue
to drink obligos (1) until they were finally lying on the table.

1. If a person drinks obligo with another, the
latter must drink up.

/170 cont./

The legendary figures and their experiences stimulate the imagination, are preserved and retold. The historical personalities and events are forgotten.

If one looks in Chané and Chiriguano houses, one finds many things preserved which are now no longer in use, /171/ but which they value as mementos of earlier times and often do not want to give up. For example, one sees handsome round pipes, "huiramimbi" (Ill. 80), which have undoubtedly been handed down from generation to generation. They were formerly used in connection with expeditions of war. Old Maringay had kept all kinds of things from olden times. It gave me great pleasure to rummage about in the old man's storage places. I wanted to buy something from him, but felt embarrassed to offer him money for his mementos.

I once found a bundle of fine, old, completely smoke-blackened arrow-points stuck into the walls. "Would you not like to sell them to me?" I asked my old friend hesitatingly. "You shall have three as presents," said Maringay. After this refusal I let him keep his cherished things.

Once I rode away from Vocopay's village in order to look up an old Chané who had an attractive old costume. After some hesitation he showed it to me. He had carefully wrapped it in other material. Like an enthusiastic museum official taking out an old gem, he unwrapped it carefully. One unmistakably saw how dear it was to him. Although I offered him a very high price, he did not want to sell it.

The fact that these Indians love their old keepsakes shows that they have a certain degree of culture. This is true only of the old people, however. The young ones are no longer like that; they sell everything without hesitation. What do they care about a worn-out old festival costume if they can get a red, fluttering scarf and trousers with jacket in exchange! The triumphal march of trousers across the world has also reached these valleys and plains.

The Chiriguano and Chané no longer carry on regular war with other Indian tribes. Occasionally, however, the Chané on the Rio Parapiti make raids on the Tsirakua Indians.

Chané SF-8
Mataco ST7E-
838 /224 cont./

171

ce

[113]

According to Westermarck (2), homosexuality is very

2. Westermarck: Ursprung und Entwicklung
der Moralbegriffe /Origin and Development
of Ideas of Morality/. Vol. II. Leipzig, 1909.

widespread among the Indians of America. The conception that this is a disgrace is by no means as marked everywhere as it is among the Indians mentioned here.

E-
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[839]

M

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E-
825

773

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/225/ Among the Chané and Chiriguano I did not hear anything about onanism. Among the Choroti, on the other hand, it is said to be practiced by the men who are ignored by the women at a dance.

Perversions in the relationship between men and women, which were common in ancient Peru, do not seem to occur here. The primitive mammal position in coitus is said to be common among the Chaco tribes.

Mataco gave me a root which they used as an aphrodisiac.

The relationship between human beings and animals is so intimately intertwined in the legends of the Indians that one cannot always determine whether they mean the one or the other. The legends that describe love affairs between human beings and animals are not descriptions of bestiality, which seems to be unknown among these Indians.

E-
ce

834

171

The sense of modesty has developed very differently among these peoples. It seems to me to depend very much on the mode of dress. None of these Indian men or women of whom I have spoken here regards it as improper, insofar as they have not been completely corrupted or civilized, to expose the upper part of the body. The Chiriguano and Chané women are much more ashamed than the Choroti and Ashluslay when they expose the sexual parts. The latter were very reluctant to undress completely in order to be photographed. I did not even dare propose such a thing to the former.

E-
ce

•[126]

E_c /247 cont./

The Chiriguano and Chané men are clever in the decoration of calabashes (Fig. 126), carve attractive pipes (Fig. 120), and know how to tan leather, which they probably learned from the whites.

Among these Indians one does not see much in the way of plastic representations of animal and human figures. The clay /248/ vessels sometimes have animal shapes. The Chané women on the Rio Parapití fashioned lumpy little dolls out of wax for their children (Fig. 105). Some of the clay vessels are painted with animal figures. A vessel from the Rio

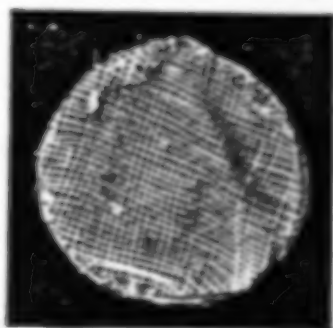


Fig. 124.
Sieve. Rio Parapití.
1/8.

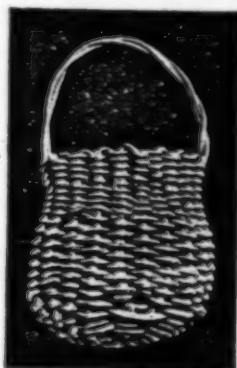


Fig. 125. Basket
Chiriguano.
Caipipendi. 1/6.

Itiyuro, which I acquired through barter, is adorned with tree figures. Occasionally one sees clay vessels in the shape of fruits.

I saw drawings representing human beings and animals on the walls in a few Chané huts and on a few Chiriguano calabashes from the Caipipendi valley.

As for basket work, the sieves are so popular among the whites that through trade they are being distributed far beyond the Chiriguano and Chané region. Otherwise the Chané and Chiriguano make few baskets. We find basket work in quantities only among the Indians where the matching-leaved palms begin, and that is at Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

^c /293 cont./

539 South America. Since, however, this is not the proper place
171 for comparative studies with regard to the legends collected
by me, I have contented myself with only presenting the ma-
terial.

^c
539 As we have seen, we learn to understand some of the
religious conceptions of the Indians from the legends. They
are also interesting from the viewpoint that a whole asser-
ment of little features from the life of the Indians is repro-
duced. They give us a glimpse into their imaginative life.

^c
539 Only the content of the legends collected by me, not
114 the form, is usable as research material. I hope that the
• 126 native South American ethnographers in particular will add to
the collection made by me and also write down the legends
in the original languages. In order to be able to do this,
however, a complete /294/ mastery of them will be necessary.
The best method would be to let the Indians tell these legends
into a phonograph.

^{Ec}
821 The Indians and Natural Phenomena.
^{ce}

^{Ec}
[773] In one of the Chané legends the story is told of how
Yahuéte, the two-headed jaguar, was on the point of de-
vouring the moon. Maringay called Yahuéte "Yahuaróhuí."

^{Ec}
[776] These Indians explain eclipses of the sun and moon by saying
^{Ec}
[171] that the sun and moon are attacked by Yahuéte. The Choroti,
too, as has been mentioned, speak of a predatory animal that
[776] attacks the sun and the moon.

If one wanders with an Indian through forest and
meadow on a starlit night, the starry sky is his compass and
his watch. He will point to Orion or some other constellation
and show how much farther it will move before one arrives.

^{ce}
821 He does not give names to many constellations, but he
knows them all. The Chané call the part of the Milky Way
nearest the Southern Cross "yándurape," that is, ostrich-way;
the Southern Cross, along with a few adjacent stars, is

— 306 —

On the left wrist they wore a small piece of wood as a protection against the blow of the bowstring.¹

Curiously enough, the present-day Chiriguano type of bow does not seem to have been exhaustively described by anyone; not even in Schmidt's account of South American bow types,² otherwise so exact, is there any mention of the Chiriguano bow. The reason for this may very likely be found in the circumstance that these weapons are said to be of rare occurrence nowadays, and that such few specimens as are still being made, are mostly used as toys and on that account typologically degenerated. Twenty years ago, when I travelled through a part of the Chiriguano country, the bow was, however, not so rarely seen as a hunting weapon as now, and I collected the seven specimens now reposing in the ethnographical section of the Riksmuseum at Stockholm. Beside these, there are two Chiriguano bows brought home by Baron Nordenskiöld, one of which is a toy bow. Two other toy bows that have been brought to Sweden by Nordenskiöld belong to the Gothenburg Museum. This forms the material from which I have compiled the following description of the Chiriguano type of bow.

By their string-fastening arrangement the Chiriguano bows differ from the Chaco-Andean bow types, which latter as a rule have no neck-shaped bow-end projections for the string. On the other hand, all Chiriguano bows that I have studied, even the toy bows, have neck-shaped ends for fastening the string, a circumstance indicating that the Chiriguano bow is no acquisition from Chaco-

Fig. 301. Kibon. Fig. 302. Kibon.
05. 3. 87a. For 05. 3. 87a. For
section, see fig. section, see fig.
303. 304.

Langlois. Chiriguano. Bolivia.
About 1880.

¹ de Linde (11) p. 328. From Ed. Nordenskiöld.

² Schmidt (11) pp. 1007-1024.

⁴¹¹
 [226] two barbed prongs made of some hard wood (figs. 213 and 214). The
 [824] arrow in fig. 210, which has only one prong, is used both in hunting and
 for fish-shooting. The Chiriguano also use fish arrows pointed with a
 number of cactus spines.⁵

[114] The fish spear has in later times become a very scarce implement
 with the Chiriguano. The only specimen obtained, as far as I know, is
 the one brought home by me, and now belonging to the Ethnographic
 Museum in Stockholm (figs. 213 and 214). Erland Nordenskiöld, who has compiled
 a map of the distribution of the fish spear in South America, has been
 kind enough to inform me that the only mention he has come across in
 the literature, concerning its occurrence among the Chiriguano, is to be
 found in the account of the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's unsuccessful
 expedition against these Indians.⁶

The fish spear I came upon among the Chiriguano in the neighbour-
 hood of San Luis, has a 240 cm long shaft, made of some light kind of
 wood, very free from knots,⁷ at one end of which two barbed wooden
 prongs are lashed on by means of a thin leather thong. The full lengths
 of the prongs are, respectively, 32.1 and 31.4 cm, and they project 20.2 cm
 from the shaft. One of the points has, however, been of a somewhat
 greater length, but has got blunted off. Both points have seven barbs on
 their outer sides. To ensure a perfectly firm fanning of the prongs, the
 fore end of the shaft has been wrapped with a piece of cloth, and over
 this the prongs have been lashed on.

323 I have already enumerated the various kinds of Chiriguano household
 [462] furniture. Among them, clay vessels hold a very important place. The
 Chiriguano are clever potters. It is only the women, though, who work
 at this industry.

In fig. 217 we see a potter's workshop, with a number of finished and
 unfinished pieces of earthenware. At the hut entrance is sitting a woman,
 who, with a piece of stick, is giving a finish to a large pot, which has
 been built up of rolls of clay, and is still unburnt.

• [126] In figs. 218—225 I have reproduced some typical Chiriguano clay
 vessels that I collected at Aguayvenda. These vessels are particularly well
 made. The peculiar rim warts seen on the hanging vessel in fig. 225,

⁵ Nordenskiöld (18), fig. 12 a.

⁶ Acuña (12), Part I, Chap. XV.

⁷ Unfortunately, during the transportation home, the handle was, unluckily to me, cut into two parts.

72 cont./ Although many primordial customs of the Chiriguano have been lost because of the influence of the missions, there have nevertheless been preserved a sufficient number of native objects to make a relatively complete ethnological collection among these Indians.

The Izoceño, having abandoned their homes in the region of the lower Parapetí River during the Chaco War, had been provisionally moved to the environs of the fort of Toledo and the fort "15 de Agosto," where they were living in ranchos abandoned by the soldiers. In the environs of the forts they had scratched out large fields for their plantings, but, because of the great drought, they had had no chance to plant, with the result that part of them had already returned to the western region when I was in these forts. When I began my return from Machacetti, a large part of them were near the fort of Carandayty. According to the data kindly given me by the Toledo military authorities, the number of Izoceño who had come to Toledo and "15 de Agosto" up to June 30, 1935, reached 1,047 adults, 734 minors, and 173 small children, a total of 2,480 souls. On August 24, the end of my stay in Toledo, there were in this fort and in "15 de Agosto" only 503 adults, 141 minors, and 38 small children, most of them having returned to the west by this time.

These Izoceño Indians, who speak a dialect of the Guaraní language, indignantly reject the name Chiriguano. They say that they are Guaraní and Paraguayan and that their name is Izoceño. Up to now I have not seen this name in ethnological literature and it does not appear in Mérimée's work, Cuestión de Límites con Bolivia / Question of Boundaries with Bolivia, Vol. II. Only on the map of Bolivia drawn by the engineer Franz Hermann (Hamburg, 1904) is there noted between the Rio Grande and the Rio Parapetí the name "Izoceño." The Izoceño near Toledo told me that their homes were in the region of the estuaries of the lower Parapetí. Since these Indians rejected not only the name Chiriguano but also the name Chané

/11 cont./

C.
 G.
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 178
 169

The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All those factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C.
 178
 [26]

The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C.
 177
 174
 C
 [113]

As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erlend Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

C
263 /19 cont./
317 from the whites (82).
439

82. Nord. 1, p. 189. Métraux I, pp. 359
and 360.

C
273 Among beverages, besides water, which is scarce in cer-
[312] tain regions, chicha (ka'ui) made of maize, potatoes, or
algarrobo deserves mention (83). Chicha made from yellow

83. Nord. 1, pp. 234 and 236. Métraux I,
pp. 364 and 365.

Ce
[273] or white maize is preferred. The chicha from potatoes by the
Chané of the Parapití River is considered inferior.

Ce
264 The Chiriguano and Chané ordinarily do not eat from a
415 common pot, but separately and from dishes. Because of this
their houses contain many dishes, which are normally made
of baked clay (nyá'e), but may also be of wood (sua) (84).

84. Cf. Nord. 1, p. 190.

Ce
415 I collected various baked clay dishes among the Chiriguano
[126] and Chané (cf. Figs. 78-80 /see p.143/), as well as two wooden
dishes, two examples of which the Museum already had, donated
by Doña María F. de Casati. I shall deal with the baked clay
dishes, along with the other baked clay vessels, in the chapter
on pottery, and therefore enumerate here only the wooden
plates in the collection.

C
415 Wooden Dishes (sua) of the Chiriguano

- I. A. 351. (Gift of Doña María F. de Casati.) Diam. 21 cm. Ht. 6 cm.
I. A. 352. (" ") " 15.5 cm. " 3.5 cm.
I. A. 496. (Max Schmidt trip.) Diam. 23 cm. Ht. 6 cm. (Fig. 18).
I. A. 497. (" " ") " 30 cm. " 6.5 cm. (Fig. 18a).

Chané SF8
Izozo

/20 cont./

Although it may be that the shape of the wooden spoons of the Chiriguano and of the Chané may have been influenced in many cases by the shape of the metal spoons acquired from the whites, we must nonetheless regard it as a product of the indigenous culture of South America that in pre-Columbian times had been rather widespread generally among the Andean cultures. Its appearance is quite limited among the native tribes of South America, setting aside the cases where it has been imported by the whites. But it is quite common among the Indians of the regions near Chiriguano territory in particular, for example, among the Tapieté and many other Chaco tribes, such as the Toba, Matakó, Churupí, and especially also among the Mojo and, farther to the east, among the Guató. It must be supposed that the Chiriguano received this cultural possession directly or indirectly from the culture of the Andean montaña.

Shells (inta) as Eating Utensils

I. A. 734 and 735. (Izozó.) Length 12 cm. and 10 cm.

Outside of the spoons mentioned, the Chané-Izozó also use shells as eating utensils.

As vessels for drinking water and chicha, they above all use cuyas /vessels made from gourds/ (cf. Figures 24-26 and 149; 150; 153) and calabashes (cf. Figures 42 and 151). For the chicha festivities this beverage is ordinarily taken out of the painted baked clay pots in cuyas with designs on them, which are passed around among those present. Of the cuyas that I acquired from the Chiriguano in Machareti many have either incised or pyrographed designs, with which I shall deal in the chapter on art. The cuyas received from the Izozó do not have designs on them, which is easily explained by the peculiar circumstance that the Izozó were at that time living near Toledo. Three of the calabashes received from the Izozó (cf. Figure 42 c) were made from the fruit of the

Chane SF8
Izozo

Ce /20 cont./

415 Crescentia Cuyete /Crescentia cuyete/ tree, which does not
 [824] grow in their territory. The cacique of the Izozo told me
 [439] that these fruits had been brought from Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

C
 Ce In addition to these cuyas, the Chiriguano and Izozo also
 415 use for drinking chicha small baked clay chicha vessels with
 handles in the form of European cups. /Plates VIII-IX appear here./

C /21/

Cuyas (ia) in the Collection

- 415
 126
 531
- | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|-------------|
| I. A. 451. | Chiriguano | Length 14 cm. | Incised designs. | (Fig. 26e.) |
| I. A. 452. | " | 10 cm. | " | (Fig. 26a.) |
| I. A. 453. | " | 10 cm. | " | " |
| I. A. 454. | " | 5.7 cm. | " | (Fig. 26c.) |
| I. A. 455. | " | 12.5 cm. | Designs incised and pyrographed. | |
| I. A. 456. | " | 11.5 cm. | " | (Fig. 26b.) |
| I. A. 457. | " | 23 cm. | " | (Fig. 24.) |
| I. A. 458. | " | 15 cm. | " | (Fig. 26d.) |
| I. A. 459. | " | 13.5 cm. | No designs, red paint outside. | |
| I. A. 460. | " | 20 cm. | Incised and pyrographed designs. | (Fig. 26b.) |
| I. A. 461-463; 490; 537-539. | Chiriguano. | No designs. | | |
| I. A. 666 | Izozo | Length 19.5 cm. | No designs, with handle. | (Fig. 25a.) |
| I. A. 667-670. | " | No designs. | | |

Ce
 [415] The length of these cuyas is quite variable. The largest of
 them measures 23 cm. in length and the smallest only 5.5 cm.

Calabashes (ia, ua) in the Collection

- I. A. 464-467. Chiriguano With pyrographed designs. (I. A. 466:
 Fig. 151.)
- | | | |
|--------------------|-------|--|
| I. A. 458. | " | No designs; with a maize cob for stopper. |
| I. A. 469. | " | No designs; entwined all around. |
| I. A. 661 and 662. | Izozo | No designs. (Fig. 42 a and b.) |
| I. A. 663-665. | " | No designs; made from the fruit of the
Crescentia Cuyete tree. (I. A. 665:
Fig. 42.) |
- Ce
 415
 126
 [531]

Ce
415 /21 cont./

The largest of these calabashes measures 50 cm. and the smallest 7.5 cm.

Stimulants

Ce
296 The Izozo whom I found in Toledo were not smokers. They attached no importance to the tobacco and pipes that I offered them. I acquired from the Chiriguano a simple wooden pipe, straight in shape, of the kind commonly used among the tribes of the Chaco, but I have seen no other pipes among them; neither have I seen them smoking.

C
[126] Pipe (cachimbo) in the Collection

I. A. 740. Chiriguano. Length 10.5 cm. (Fig. 23.)

Ce
249
276 According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano and the Chané plant tobacco, but its planting is not significant and they are not great smokers. If they smoke, they ordinarily use cigarettes, with a wrapper made out of a maize leaf, and only rarely use pipes (87). This explains the very uncharacteristic form of the

276
87. Nord. I. p.182. Cf. Métraux I, p. 339.

pipe that I found among the Chiriguano. A pipe of very different shape, with a special handle in front of the tobacco bowl, is represented in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (88). According to

[177]
88. Nord. I, p. 179. Fig. 88.

the same author, the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua have received from the latter the custom of chewing coca.

C /22 cont./

352
[126]

Hammocks (Chiriguano: kía; Izo20: ini) in the Collection

I. A. 448. Chiriguano. Wool. Length 230 cm. Width 75 cm. (Fig. 102b).

I. A. 449. " " " 105 cm. " 60 cm.

I. A. 450. " " " 285 cm. " 60 cm. (Fig. 102a).

Ce
[126]
[352]

I. A. 360. Gift of Mr. Teodoro Rojas. (Chané of the Parapití.)

From Caraguata. Length 320 cm. (Fig. 102c).

C
352
286

The hammocks that I acquired among the Chiriguano in Machareti were all made of wool, as were the hammocks that Métraux saw among the Chiriguano (92). According to

92. Métraux I, p. 470.

Nordenskiöld (93), Chiriguano hammocks are commonly made

93. Nord. 2, p. 12.

C
286
352
126

of cotton and only incidentally of wool. Of the three large hammocks in the collection, two (I. A. 448 and 449) were plaited with the technique very common among the Indians of South America, which in my publication on the Guarayú, which appeared in this same journal, I called "double thread plaiting" (Doppelfadengeflecht) (94), while one (I. A. 450) shows the

94. Cf. Fig. 102b /see p.174/.

Ce
286
352
[126]

structure of a piece of weaving. (Cf. Fig. 102a) From the Chané the Museum's collection has hammock I. A. 360, which Mr. Teodoro Rojas acquired among the Indians of the Parapití River and presented to the Museum. (Fig. 102c.) This hammock was made of caraguata fibers and with a netting technique. According to Nordenskiöld, in addition to such hammocks of caraguata fiber the Chané have others made of cotton, on the technique of which we have no information.

C
Ce
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With regard to the details of these Chiriguano and Chané hammocks, I refer to the chapters dedicated to the description of the technique of plaiting and the technique of preparing netting.

/22 cont./

352 The Chiriguano generally sleeps on a kind of cot (catre),
513 that is, a bed frame made of cane. Such beds, which in
[251] addition to their own purpose also serve for drying maize, have
been represented in drawings by Eric v. Rosen (95), Erland

95. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., p. 190.

[174] v. Nordenskiöld (96), and Métraux (97). No doubt /23/ the
[178]

96. Nord. 2, Fig. 2.

97. Métraux 1, Fig. 125, p. 470.

cold climate of the region to which the Chiriguano had emi-
grated made them abandon the use of the hammock for sleep-
ing, not very practical for such a climate, and replace it with
the cot, which was already common among the tribes of those
regions. Lacking a cot, the Chiriguano sleep on the ground.
In that case they use for a bed large mats made of cane or palm
leaves, or also hides (98). I acquired from the Chiriguano one

232
824
126
824
98. Nord. 1, p. 177. V. Rosen, op. cit.,
p. 200. Métraux 1, p. 470.

such mat plaited out of palm leaves (Fig. 95).

Chiriguano Mat (túpa) in the Collection

I. A. 540. Length 1.75 m. Width 1.50 m. (Fig. 95).

352 In some Chiriguano houses I also saw wooden benches
171 (apika), but unfortunately I could not acquire a specimen.
[126] Those benches in the form of a sled are very similar to the
kind of benches that are very common among the Indians of
Brazil (99) and those that we also know from the ancient

[113] 99. Cariy /sic/ von den Steinen: Unter den

Chane SF8
Izozo

/25 cont./

C
ce
302 Cutting and Combing the Hair, and Head Adornment

The women wear their hair plaited into long or medium long braids hanging down to their shoulders (113). As can be

113. See Lehmann-Nitsche, op. cit., Plates XI and XII.

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[881]
[265] seen in Figures 4, 5, and 12 and in the photographs of Chiriguano women published by Lehmann-Nitsche, the hair of the women and girls is always parted over the forehead. The girls always have such a part from childhood. (See Fig. 8 /see p. 28/.) At the time of the first menstruation, the girls' hair is cut short (114), and the women also cut their hair in the

114. Nord. 1, p. 210. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 201.

event of the death of the husband or one of their close relatives; sometimes they cut it twice when the husband dies (115).

115. Nord. 1, p. 220.

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126 At the nape of the neck, and sometimes also at the top of the head, the hair is tied together with cotton bands. The collection which I brought to the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay contains 29 of these bands used by Izozó women, all of which have the same typical form.

Ce
301 Bands for Women's Hair, from the Collection

(I. A. 624-652.) (Izozó.) (I. A. 646 and 641 shown in Fig. 32a and b.)

The length of these bands for the hair, on the average, is 1.04 cm. /sic/. The longest band measures 1.45 meters, and the shortest, 0.65 meters. The average length of the tassels is 14.3 cm. The longest tassel measures 17.5 cm.; the shortest, 9 cm.

Chané SF8
Izozo

/28/

Combs (kívua) in the Collection

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[120]
- I. A. 740. (Found on the road between Capirenda and Garrapatal. Length 9.5 cm. Width 9 cm. (Fig. 29a.)
I. A. 1327. Izozó. Length 7.5 cm. Width 3.5 cm. (Fig. 29b.)

The two combs in the collection, coming from the Izozó, represent two completely different types of comb. To the first type belongs the comb I. A. 740, which is made up of some little wooden sticks held together between two transverse pieces of cane interwoven with threads. (Cf. Fig. 29a.) The comb of the second type, I. A. 1327, has simply been carved from a single piece of flat wood. (Cf. Fig. 29b.) A comb similar to I. A. 740, coming from the Chané, is shown by Nordenskiöld in a drawing (122). The three Chiriguano

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122. Nord. 1, Fig. 109.

combs shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (122) /see footnote 122 above/ belong to the second type and have been carved from wood, like the Izozó comb I. A. 1327. But in contrast to this one, the upper parts of their backs have been carved. Likewise the Chiriguano combs shown in drawings by v. Rosen and Métraux (123) are decorated with such carving.

123. V. Rosen, op. cit., Fig. 196.
Métraux I, Plate 87.

C
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171

Up to now there has been some doubt as to how these two different types of combs might be distributed among the Chané and the Chiriguano. According to Nordenskiöld (124),

124. Nord. 2, p. 81.

the Chiriguano only have combs carved from a single piece of wood, and the Chané commonly have the type of comb with small sticks and rarely the simple comb carved from wood.

/30 cont./

The poncho is a garment in common use even today among Chiriguano and Chané men and boys during the cold season.

Figure 17 shows a Chiriguano boy wearing a poncho. Because ponchos today, like the fajas, are an article eagerly sought by the whites and are often made to be sold commercially, I tried to collect only ponchos worn by the Indians themselves.

/31/

Ponchos (asó'ia) in the Collection

I. A. 423.	(Chiriguano.)	Of wool.	Length 1.45 m.	Width 1.14 m.	
I. A. 424.	"	"	1.70 m.	"	1.46 m.
I. A. 425.	"	"	1.65 m.	"	1.32 m.
I. A. 426.	"	"	1.68 m.	"	1.39 m.
(Fig. 117.)					
I. A. 427.	"	Of cotton."	1.36 m.	"	1.95 m.
I. A. 808.	(Izozó)	Of cotton."	1.46 m.	"	1.35 m.
I. A. 809.	"	Of wool. "	1.42 m.	"	1.09 m.
I. A. 110	"	"	1.62 m.	"	1.38 m.
I. A. 812	"	"	1.16 m.	"	1.17 m.
I. A. 813.	"	"	1.16 m.	"	0.78 m.
I. A. 814.	"	"	1.36 m.	"	0.68 m.
I. A. 815.	"	"	1.28 m.	"	0.64 m.
I. A. 819.	"	Of cotton."	1.26 m.	"	1.10 m.
I. A. 823.	"	Of wool. "	1.40 m.	"	1.30 m.
(Fig. 116.)					
I. A. 825.	"	"	1.50 m.	"	1.22 m.
I. A. 830.	"	"	1.40 m.	"	0.97 m.
I. A. 833.	"	Of cotton."	1.56 m.	"	1.25 m.
I. A. 834.	"	"	1.26 m.	"	0.93 m.
I. A. 835.	"	"	1.42 m.	"	1.21 m.
I. A. 836.	"	"	1.08 m.	"	0.71 m.
I. A. 837.	"	"	0.96 m.	"	0.78 m.

In order to explain the above-mentioned measurements we must say that the measurements of length refer to the entire length of the poncho when stretched out. As Figure 17 shows, the poncho is used in such a way that the slit, being in its center,

Chané SF8
Izozo

/31 cont./

Ce
291
286
513
126

is brought over the head so that the slit is in the direction of the middle axis of the human body and the middle of the poncho across the shoulders, one part hanging in front and the other behind. Thus the distance between the lower edge of the poncho and the shoulders of the man who is wearing the poncho corresponds to half the length of the poncho when stretched out. Only in the case of two of the Izozo woolen ponchos is half the length equal to the width. I shall deal with the manufacture and decoration of these ponchos in the chapters on the technique of weaving and art.

The Chané of the Parapití River still often wear mantas woven of wool, which they also use to sleep on or to cover themselves with when they are sleeping (138). I have acquired

138. See Nord. 1, p. 202.

nine of these mantas from the Izozo, four of which had been made from ponchos, the slit in the center of them having been closed by sewing. Among the other four mantas which had been made as mantas from the first, the relationship between the length and the width can vary greatly. There are some nearly square and others three times as long as they are wide. From the Chiriguano in Machareti I obtained only one piece of woven material which corresponds to these mantas, and it was already much mended.

Mantas in the Collection

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296

I. A. 585. (Chiriguano.)	Of cotton.	Length 1.38 m.	Width 1.27 m.
I. A. 816. (Izozo)	Of wool.	" 2.20 m.	" 0.60 m.
I. A. 817.	"	" 1.80 m.	" 1.20 m.
I. A. 818.	"	" 0.68 m.	" 0.60 m.
/32/			
I. A. 824.	"	" 1.22 m.	" 1.30 m.
I. A. 826.	"	" 1.28 m.	" 0.44 m.
I. A. 827.	"	" 1.40 m.	" 0.92 m.
I. A. 828.	"	" 1.56 m.	" 1.66 m.
I. A. 829.	"	" 1.27 m.	" 1.25 m.
I. A. 831.	"	" 1.74 m.	" 1.24 m.

Chane SF8
Izozo

/32 cont./

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291

I have already mentioned fajas, used today as belts by the Chiriguano men, in the chapter on cutting and combing the hair and head ornaments. I shall deal with their manufacture and decoration in the chapters on the technique of weaving and art.

Fajas (Izozó: kuakuá in the Collection

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[126]

I. A. 428-441. (Chiriguano.)

I. A. 738, 803-807. (Izozó.)

Only the Izozó faja I. A. 738, shown in Figure 414, which measures 1.30 m. long and 3.7 cm. wide, differs with respect to the technique of its manufacture and its decoration, which we must attribute to outside influences, from the other fajas collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó. These correspond to one another quite minutely with respect to their dimensions, the weaving technique, and the ornamentation. Moreover, these Izozó fajas have been woven exclusively of cotton and the Chiriguano fajas have been woven exclusively of wool, with the exception of one (I. A. 434), whose warp contains not only cotton threads, but also wool threads. All these fajas are more than 2 m. long. The longest of the Chiriguano fajas measures 2.86 m.; the longest of the Izozó, 2.70 m. The width of the Chiriguano fajas varies between 8.5 and 16 cm., and that of the Izozó ones, between 10 cm. and 19.5 cm.

C
[178]

The women and girls, much more than the men, have preserved their original garb, which consists of a "tipoy." As the photographs in Figures 3, 4, 8, 12, and 14 show, the modern shirt or jacket made of modern material has often been added to the tipoy, but has not replaced it; the wife and three daughters of the Izozó cacique shown in Figure 12 are wearing the tipoy, as are almost all the Chiriguano women shown in Figure 4. Certainly most of the time the tipoy is used as a skirt, the upper part being rolled over the hips like a long belt.

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301
[26] /33 cont./

Ring (moākaregua) in the Collection

I. A. 1321. (Chiriguano.) Gift of Father Ayala Solis. Diam. 2cm.

Finally I shall mention here a ring obtained by Father Ayala Solis from the Chiriguano and donated by him to the Museo de Historia y Etnografía del Paraguay. The ring was made of metal from a cartridge shell.

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29 The cacique of the Izo20 shown in Figure 12 wears sandals (Chir.: mbipása. Izo20: pāpá). Generally the men and women go around barefoot. But both sexes use sandals if they are to walk on stony or thorny ground (146).

146. Nord. 1, p. 203. Nord. 2, p. 69,

Fig. 23. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 207.

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29
19 The region of distribution of the sandal in South America leads us to assume that the Chiriguano did not first receive this item from the whites, but earlier, and that it came from the culture of the ancient Peruvians (147).

147. Cf. Nord. 2, p. 69.

Treatment of Illnesses and Burial

ce
743
ce
[14] In the Indian settlement in Toledo there was arranged a small hospital in which the sick Izo20 were receiving medical treatment. For that reason I did not have the chance to make investigations among them about the native treatment of the illnesses of these Indians. Nor did I have the chance to make such investigations in Machareti. Therefore, I refer to the investigations /34/ Nordenskiöld and Métraux made on this subject (148), and I wish only to

148. Nord. 1, pp. 216 and 217. Métraux

1, pp. 480-488.

mention here that among the Chiriguano and Chané, as among

/36 cont./

Ce
857
524 Three other games of skill described by Nordenskiöld
are played only by children (163). For one of these, called

163. Nord. 1, pp. 196 and 197.

"sôuki," they use two arrows fitted with maize cobs (164).

164. Nord. 1, Fig. 102.

These two games are played by the children of the Chané of
the Parapití.

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524 Nordenskiöld saw the third game, called "parama," played
by the children of the Chiriguano in the Caipipendi valley (165).

165. Nord. 1, Fig. 103.

With small round stones, propelled with pieces of baked clay,
they try to knock down a button, or some such thing, from a
rock.

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524
126 I obtained from the Chiriguano in Machareti some chil-
dren's toys which belong to these games of skill.

Toys in the Collection

- I. A. 504. Top (Chiriguano). Length 18 cm.
I. A. 505. " " " 16 cm. (Fig. 35b.)
I. A. 506. Rattle " " 25 cm.
I. A. 507. Small sling " " 55 cm.
I. A. 510. Toy called "mou-mou" (Chiriguano). Diameter of
the disk 6 cm. (Fig. 36a.)

A specimen of a top similar to those mentioned (see Fig.
35b /see p. 89/) and originating among the Chiriguano of the
Caipipendi valley is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (166).

166. Nord. 1, Fig. 104. B.

Chane SF8
IzozoC
ce /39 cont./
411
126

Bows and arrows are only incidentally used for hunting, and it is therefore difficult to collect them today among these Indians. From the Izozô I was able to acquire various bows and arrows, and from the Chiriguano a small bow for children and various arrows. Among these there are also two specimens for killing birds, provided with a club /maza/ at the tip. Because in particular cases we were often unable to decide if a type of arrow were used exclusively for hunting or for fishing or both, I shall list all the types of arrows together in the following list.

Bows (uirâpa) in the Collection

- I. A. 518 (Chiriguano) Length 0.80 m. Cord is strips of animal hide.
 I. A. 754. (Izozô.) Length 1.39 m. " " "
 I. A. 755. " " 1.28 m. " " "
 I. A. 756. " " 1.41 m. " " " (Fig. 37b).
 I. A. 757. " " 1.32 m. " " " (Fig. 37a).
 I. A. 758. " " 1.31 m. " " "
 I. A. 759. " " 1.04 m. " " "
 I. A. 760. " " 1.11 m. Cord is a piece of cable.

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411
126 /40/Arrows (uij) in the Collection

- I. A. 519. (Chiriguano.) Length 1 m. Iron point; its length 15.5 cm. Cane shaft. No feathering. (Fig. 37c.)
 I. A. 520. (Chiriguano.) Length 0.99 m. Iron point; its length 20 cm. Cane shaft. Remnants of feathering.
 I. A. 521. (Chiriguano.) Length 0.85 m. Wooden point; its length 28.5 cm. With feathering. (Fig. 37d.)
 I. A. 522-533. (Chiriguano.). Wire points.
 I. A. 534. (Chiriguano.) Length 1.11 m. Tip in club form; its length 5.5 cm. Cane shaft. With feathering. (Fig. 37e.)
 I. A. 535. (Chiriguano.) Length 0.71 m. Tip in club form; its length 4 cm. Wooden shaft. With feathering.
 I. A. 536. Wooden arrowpoint. (Chiriguano.) Length 25.5 cm.

/~3/

Macana in the Collection

411
[26] I. A. 517. (Chiriguano.) Length 64 cm. (Fig. 38).

[171] The wooden macana, acquired from the Chiriguano, is provided at its upper end with a broadening distinctly delimited from the handle (cf. Fig. 38) and in that respect corresponds to the macanas that we know from various Chaco tribes, for example, the Toba, but it does not correspond to the Chiriguano macana shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (197).

197. Nord. 2, Fig. 9.

[224] The latter is about the same length, but it does not show the clear broadening at the handle, its upper end being only slightly broader. According to Nordenskiöld, the Chiriguano do not use these macanas except for hunting pigs (198).

198. Nord. 1, p. 183.

[26] Sling: (tamomboka) in the Collection

I. A. 508. Chiriguano. Length of the middle part of net 15 cm.

I. A. 509. " " " " " 14 cm. (Fig. 36b.)

[286] The two slings acquired from the Chiriguano seem to be exactly alike. They consist of a middle part made with the net technique with caraguata-fiber string which terminates at each end with a cord. One of these two cords ends in a simple knot and the other in a small loop. These slings are like the Chané ones shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld, while the manufacture of the middle part of the Chiriguano sling shown by Nordenskiöld is different (199). The Chiriguano in contact

199. Nord. 2, Fig. 7, A.

C /45 cont. /
317 the earth of the salt licks called "yukin" (214).
263

214. Nord. 1, p. 189. See Métraux 1,
pp. 359 and 360.

Making Fire

Ce
372 Native implements to make fire are little used today by
the Chiriguano and Chané. At home fire can generally be
Ce
[178] obtained from some other piece of burning wood, and for
[276] other occasions they commonly provide themselves with modern
matches. Moreover, as I have said, the Chiriguano and
Chané are not great smokers. One fire-making tool which
is still found among them is the strike-a-light. The speci-
men I acquired from the Chiriguano is different from the
strike-a-light of the Chaco tribes in that the tinder consists
of a quite thick cotton wick. According to Métraux (215),

Ce
[415] 215. Métraux 1, p. 253.
[237]

there is also found among them the common form of strike-a-
light in which the tinder consists of the fuzz of the fruit of the
palo borracho (Coccoloba insignis) kept in a container made of a
cow horn or armadillo tail.

Fire-making Implements in the Collection

Ce
372
126 I. A. 516. (Fig. 40.)

- a. Bag woven of cotton thread as a container for the im-
plements.
- b. Wick of cotton thread.
- c. Receptacle for the lighted end of the wick, made of
the nest of a species of wasp.
- d. Piece of a modern metal file.
- e. Pieces of flint.

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114

/46 cont./ Eric V. Rosen has also shown numerous Chiriguano vessels in drawings in his work already cited (219).

219. V. Rosen. Figs. 218-225.

Métraux describes and shows by drawings a great number of Chiriguano baked clay vessels (220).

220. Métraux 1, pp. 370-374; pp. 382-428;
Plates 16-19 and 24-60.

A publication by Felix F. Outes deals particularly with Chiriguano ceramics (221).

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[113]

221. Felix F. Outes: *La cerámica Chiriguana /Chiriguano Cerámica/*. " From the Revista del Museo de la Plata, Vol. XVI (second series, Vol. III), Buenos Aires, 1909, pp. 121-136.

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Because formerly in the museum of the Sociedad Científica del Paraguay we had only four baked clay vessels and a piece of a handle from the Chiriguano, which Doña Maria F. de Casati collected among them and presented to the museum, I had a special interest in filling this gap. With some effort I managed to acquire from the Izoce in Toledo 41 Chiriguano vessels, and from the Chiriguano in Machareti, 55 of them, and with rather more effort I managed to bring them back whole and with their designs in good condition through the long trip to Asunción.

These baked clay vessels collected by me also show great variation in their form and ornamentation. But these diverse variations can be reduced to several groups, according to the purpose for which they were intended.

The Chiriguano and Chané baked clay vessels may serve very different ends:

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1. To cook foods and liquids.
2. To fry /fritar, literally "to frit"/ foods.
3. To steam maize meal.
4. To carry and keep water.

/46 cont./

5. As a container for chicha.
6. To serve chicha.
7. As a drinking container, especially for drinking chicha.
8. To store food.
9. To store anything at all.
10. As plates for eating meals.
11. As a base for the spindle in spinning.
12. As funerary urns.

/47/

1. Baked Clay Vessels for Cooking Foods and Liquids
 (yapipo), from the Collection

L. A. 412	Chirig. Hr.	12 cm.	Max. Dia.	14 cm.	Aperture	12 cm.	(Fig. 46)
L. A. 413	" "	26 cm.	" "	25.5 cm.	"	18 cm.	(Fig. 46)
L. A. 414	" "	24 cm.	" "	23 cm.	"	17 cm.	(Fig. 44)
L. A. 415	" "	20 cm.	" "	19.5 cm.	"	14.5 cm.	
L. A. 416	" "	30 cm.	" "	26 cm.	"	20 cm.	
L. A. 417	" "	27 cm.	" "	22.5 cm.	"	19 cm.	
L. A. 418	" "	23.5 cm.	" "	24 cm.	"	20 cm.	(Fig. 45)
L. A. 419	" "	22 cm.	" "	20 cm.	"	16 cm.	(Fig. 47)
L. A. 420	" "	25.5 cm.	" "	28 cm.	"	20 cm.	
L. A. 421	" "	20 cm.	" "	22.5 cm.	"	19 cm.	

The form of these ten Chiriguano vessels intended for cooking foods or liquids is essentially the same. Only the vessel L. A. 412, with a height of 12 cm., is substantially smaller than the other vessels, whose height varies between 20 and 30 cm. Only in the case of the former small vessel is the diameter of the aperture at the top equal to the height of the vessel, while for all the other vessels the diameter of the aperture at the top is less than the height, and in some cases this is a difference of up to 10 centimeters.

/c? cont./

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difference of up to 10 centimeters. The neck is clearly distinguished from the globular belly of these vessels by a border of all of these vessels provided with sunken ornamentation. Also the flat part of the bottom is clearly distinguished from the wall by a border. The surface of the belly of the vessels has incised lines produced by rubbing the surface, when still moist, with a maize cob. Only the little vessel L. A. 412 has its entire surface covered with sunken ornamentation.

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All of these vessels intended for cooking are fitted with two handles in a vertical position, attached to the upper rim of the pot and coming down to the lower part of the neck. The form of these handles shows some variation which I shall deal with in the chapter on art.

Vessel Intended for Cooking Maize Meal for the Preparation of Chicha. from the Collection

● (824)

L. A. 399 (Chirig.) Ht. 37 cm. Max. dia. 47 cm. Aperture 14 cm.

(Fig. 50).

Large banded clay vessels, which in many cases are still much larger than the specimen brought back by me from the Chiriguano, are used for cooking the maize meal used in the preparation of chicha. As shown in Fig. 50, this kind of vessel is different from the ordinary vessels intended for cooking only by not having handles. The wall of the belly is clearly

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distinguished from the neck and from the flat bottom. The neck of these vessels also has sunken ornamentation. The vessel shown in Figure 50 is relatively high in comparison with its maximum diameter and with the diameter of the aperture at the top. The vessels for cooking chicha native to the Chasé on the Itiyuro and shown in drawings by Nandemoled have, in comparison with their maximum diameter and the diameter of their aperture, a much smaller aperture /ggt/. (TTT).

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Chane 573
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(26)

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2. Vessel Intended for Frying Maize, from the Collection

L.A. 400 (Chirig.). Ht. 14 cm. Max. dia. 23 cm. (Fig. 12a).
L.A. 397 (Jamb.). " 10 cm. " " TL 5 cm.

These two vessels are very similar to each other. Both have two small handles on the rim. They differ from one another only in that the division between the flat base and the wall of the body is more marked than on the Chiriquano vessel. A vessel very similar to the two described above and from the Chané on the Itzura River is shown in a drawing by Eiland Nordenskiöld (212). Because Nordenskiöld states that

212. Nord. 2, p. 33 and Fig. 43, N. 22.

this vessel was intended for frying maize, I also consider the two similar vessels in the collection to have been used for that end.

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3. Vessel for Steaming Maize Meal, from the Collection

(26)

L.A. 472 (Chiriquano). Height 12.5 cm. Max. dia. 23 cm. (Fig. 12.)

This vessel has some round holes in the bottom, one of which is in the center and the rest in two concentric circles around the central one. According to Nordenskiöld (214),

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214. Nord. 2, Fig. 43, N. 22.

who shows in a drawing a vessel very similar to this one, these plates with holes in the bottom are used for steaming the maize meal with which they prepare a dish that they call in Chiriquano "maizunimimo." To do this, they put the plate with the maize meal on the aperture at the top of a pot in which they boil water (215).

215. See Métraux I, p. 207 and (Plate 13)
N. 1 and 2.

Cham SF8
Izozo

/48 cent./

4. Vessels for Carrying or Storing Water, from the Collection

L. A. 392 Chirig. IR.	35 cm.	Max. Dia.	17.7 cm.	Apert.	4 cm.	(Fig. 84)
L. A. 393 " "	32 cm.	" "	29.5 cm.	" "	9 cm.	
L. A. 395 " "	32 cm.	" "	31.5 cm.	" "	13.5 cm.	
L. A. 396 " "	32 cm.	" "	30 cm.	" "	14.5 cm.	(Fig. 55)
L. A. 399 Izozo	34 cm.	" "	23.7 cm.	" "	6.5 cm.	
L. A. 404 " "	34.5 cm.	" "	18.5 cm.	" "	3.5 cm.	(Fig. 56a)
L. A. 607 " "	13.5 cm.	" "	14.5 cm.	" "	13 cm.	
L. A. 608 " "	18.5 cm.	" "	19.2 cm.	" "	3.5 cm.	(Fig. 57b)
L. A. 617 " "	16 cm.	" "	17 cm.	" "	11.5 cm.	(Fig. 56b)
L. A. 621 " "	28.5 cm.	" "	18.4 cm.	" "	3.5 cm.	(Fig. 83a)
L. A. 761 " "	40.5 cm.	" "	27.5 cm.	" "	7 cm.	(Fig. 54)
L. A. 762 " "	44 cm.	" "	34.5 cm.	" "	7.9 cm.	
L. A. 763 " "	48 cm.	" "	35 cm.	" "	7.7 cm.	

The vessels mentioned in the above, in contrast with the cooking pots, have a smooth surface. Also they are not painted. This leads us to assume that they are intended for common use rather than for festive occasions, and we must consider them primarily as vessels for water, which naturally does not preclude their being used on occasion for chicha. Plates XIV-XVII appear here.

5. Vessels Used as Chicha Receptacles, from the Collection

I. A. 355 Chirig. (226). No handles. Ht. 15.5 cm. Max. dia. 20.5 cm. Apert. 15 cm.

226. Donated by D. María F. de Casati.

I. A. 368	Chirig.	No handles.	Ht.	27 cm.	Max. dia.	34 cm.	Apert.	30 cm.	(Fig. 59)
I. A. 369	"	"	"	22.5 "	"	42 "	"	42 "	(Fig. 60)
I. A. 370	"	"	"	26 "	"	39.5 "	"	27 "	(Fig. 58)
I. A. 372	"	Two handles	"	20 "	"	24.5 "	"	21 "	
I. A. 373	"	"	"	15 "	"	22.5 "	"	20 "	(Fig. 75a)
I. A. 374	"	"	"	16 "	"	18 "	"	13 "	(Fig. 75b)
I. A. 375	"	No handles	"	13 "	"	28 "	"	28 "	(Fig. 67)
I. A. 376	"	2 handles, 1 broken	"	24 "	"	27 "	"	21 "	(Fig. 62)
I. A. 377	"	No handles	Ht.	26 "	"	30.5 "	"	24 "	(Fig. 57)
I. A. 378	"	Two handles	"	21.5 "	"	22.8 "	"	17 "	(Fig. 63)
I. A. 381	"	No handles	"	16 "	"	18.5 "	"	15 "	(Fig. 71)
I. A. 383	"	Two handles	"	16 "	"	15.7 "	"	13 "	(Fig. 76b)
I. A. 384	"	"	"	13.5 "	"	16 "	"	11 "	
I. A. 386	"	"	"	16 "	"	19.1 "	"	13 "	(Fig. 73b)
I. A. 387	"	"	"	16 "	"	18.8 "	"	13 "	(Fig. 73a)
I. A. 397	"	No handles	"	62 "	"	53 "	"	24 "	(Fig. 51)
I. A. 398	"	"	"	52 "	"	45.2 "	"	18.5 "	
I. A. 407	"	"	"	9 "	"	17 "	"	17 "	(Fig. 77b)
I. A. 408	"	"	"	8 "	"	18.5 "	"	17.5 "	(Fig. 77a)
I. A. 409	"	"	"	7.2 "	"	13 "	"	13 "	

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I. A. 593	Isosé	"	"	14 "	"	18.5 "	"	18.5 "	
I. A. 596	"	Two handles	"	16 "	"	16.2 "	"	11.5 "	(Fig. 68a)
I. A. 598	"	"	"	13.2 "	"	25 "	"	25 "	
I. A. 600	"	No handles	"	13 "	"	25.7 "	"	25.7 "	(Fig. 76a)
I. A. 601	"	"	"	22.5 "	"	26.7 "	"	23.5 "	(Fig. 69b)
I. A. 604	"	"	"	29 "	"	27.4 "	"	26 "	(Fig. 61)
I. A. 605	"	"	"	19.2 "	"	22.5 "	"	21.5 "	(Fig. 69a)
I. A. 622	"	"	"	15.5 "	"	19 "	"	15.5 "	(Fig. 68b)

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/50 cont./

6. Vessels Intended for Serving Chicha, from the
Collection

I. A. 347 (226)	Chir.	Ht. 18.3 cm.	Max. dia. 15.3 cm.	Apert. 10 cm.	(Fig. 65)
I. A. 348 (226)	Chir.	Ht. 14.5 cm.	Max. dia. 14.7 cm.	Apert. 8 cm.	
I. A. 349 (226)	"	Ht. 18.5 cm.	Max. dia. 18.2 cm.	" 5.2 cm.	
I. A. 371	"	" 20	" "	" 21.3 "	" 8.5 cm.
I. A. 379	"	" 18.5	" "	" 16 "	" 6 cm.
I. A. 380	"	" 20	" "	" 18.3 "	" 8.5 cm.
					(Fig. 82a)
I. A. 382	"	" 18	" "	" 14 "	" 7 cm.
					(Fig. 82b)
I. A. 385	"	" 20.5	" "	" 21.7 "	" 9 cm.
I. A. 402	"	" 22	" "	" 15.5 "	" 12 cm.
I. A. 403	"	" 17.5	" "	" 14.5 "	" 14 cm.
					(Fig. 64)
I. A. 404	"	" 20	" "	" 21.5 "	" 9 cm.
					(Fig. 74a)
I. A. 405	"	" 19	" "	" 19 "	" 7 cm.
I. A. 587	Izozó	" 18	" "	" 16.2 "	" 12 cm.
I. A. 588	"	" 14	" "	" 14.3 "	" 12 cm.
I. A. 590	"	" 13	" "	" 12.8 "	" 12.5 cm.
I. A. 609	"	" 14	" "	" 12.5 "	" 12 cm.
I. A. 623	"	" 20.5	" "	" 18 "	" 12.5 cm.
					(Fig. 66)

/Fn. 226, which appears on p. 122, reads:
Donated by D. María F. de Casati./

The Chiriguano and Chané use vessels like those mentioned
above in the chicha festivities, taking the chicha from the large
pots by means of them and filling the cuyas /gourd vessels/ or
baked clay cups that they pass among those present at the fiesta.

Ce /51 cont./ These vessels have a globular
415 form and are provided with a handle. The bottom of three
of them is clearly distinct from the belly, forming a foot.
Ce Two of them have designs on the surface; the others are with-
[53] out designs.

C
415
[126] 8. Vessels Used as Receptacles for Food, from the
Collection

I. A. 394. Chiriguano. Height 17.5 cm. Aperture 44 cm.
I. A. 401. " " 11.5 cm. " 30 cm.

C
[264] Two of the baked clay dishes that I obtained from the
Chiriguano in Machareti seem to me to be too big to be con-
sidered as dishes for eating, because Nordenskiöld states
that (228) the Chiriguano do not eat from a common dish, but

228. Nord. 1, p. 190.

rather each one has his own separate dish. We can assume
that these are vessels used as food containers or serving dishes
for food before it is placed on the individual dishes.

C
[531] The two dishes are without designs. The flat bottom is
well distinguished from the wall, which widens upward. The
dish I. A. 401 has a rather wide rim which has two handles.
Cf. Fig. 53b /see p. 118/.

9. Vessels Used for Storing Objects

C
Ce
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[171] In contrast to the other Indians, the Chiriguano and
Chané use vessels for keeping anything of value. I did not
receive from the Indians any indication /52/ that any of the
vessels I brought from them belonged particularly to this type.
Therefore I refer here to a vessel shown in a drawing by
Nordenskiöld with the caption "För keeping knickknacks in"
/cited in English/ (229).

229. Nord. 2, p. 158 and Fig. 45, N. 19.

/52 cont./

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Nordenskiöld says in another place that the mistress of the house keeps all the family's valuable things, such as clothing, ornaments, silver plates, turquoise or chrysocolla necklaces, and many other things, in these vessels (230).

230. Nord. 1, p. 179.

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10. Dishes for Eating (nyá e), from the Collection

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I. A. 388	Chirig.	Height	6.5 cm.	Aperture	21 cm. (Fig. 79a)
I. A. 389	"	"	8 cm.	"	23.5 cm. (Fig. 79b)
I. A. 390	"	"	5.2 cm.	"	15 cm.
I. A. 391	"	"	4 cm.	"	13 cm.
I. A. 406	"	"	9 cm.	"	25 cm. (Fig. 78a)
I. A. 586	Izozo	"	13 cm.	"	25.5 cm. (Fig. 76b)
I. A. 591	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	16.5 cm.
I. A. 594	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	21 cm.
I. A. 595	"	"	9 cm.	"	20 cm. (Fig. 80a)
I. A. 598	"	"	13.2 cm.	"	25 cm.
I. A. 612	"	"	9.5 cm.	"	19 cm.
I. A. 613	"	"	8 cm.	"	21 cm. (Fig. 80c)
I. A. 614	"	"	9 cm.	"	22 cm.
I. A. 615	"	"	10.5 cm.	"	27.5 cm.
I. A. 616	"	"	10.5 cm.	"	22 cm.
I. A. 618	"	"	10 cm.	"	18.5 cm.
I. A. 620	"	"	15.5 cm.	"	15 cm.

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[264]
[531]

Because every Chiriguano and Chané as already mentioned, eats from his own dish, such baked clay dishes are found in great number in the houses of these Indians. Many of them that are intended for ordinary use do not have designs, while others, used on the occasion of fiestas, have designs on their outer surface or on the upper rim of the interior surface, or are provided with small additions.

/53 cont./

12. Funerary Urns

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In the chapter on the treatment of illnesses and burial, I have already dealt with the Chiriguano custom of placing their dead inside funerary urns and of closing these with other vessels. According to Nordenskiöld (232), the large baked clay

232. Nord. 1, p. 278.

vessels used for preparing and keeping chicha also serve as funerary urns. Because among those Indians burial in funerary urns is a direct burial, that is, the entire corpse is placed within the urn, the vessels selected for funerary urns must be large enough to have room for the corpse of an adult. Unfortunately, I was unable to bring such large vessels from Machareti. The largest of the vessels that I brought, 52 cm. and 62 cm. in height, are not big enough for an adult, and in particular their apertures on top, which measure only up to 24 cm., are too small to be able to squeeze in a dead person. Therefore, with reference to funerary urns and their respective tops, I refer to the drawing made by Nordenskiöld (233). Outes

233. Nord. 1, Fig. 113.

has published a Chiriguano vessel with a height of 27.5 cm. and an aperture on top of 27.5 cm., which had served as a funerary urn for a small child. With the urn was found a small baked clay dish approximately 6 cm. high (234).

234. Felix F. Outes, op. cit., p. 135 and Figs. 30 and 31.

Outes' data show that the vessels of the Chiriguano can reach quite large dimensions (235). Among the vessels

235. Felix F. Outes, op. cit., pp. 127 and 128.

Chane SF8
Izozo

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/53 cont./

described by him there is one which is 92 cm. high and has an aperture at the top 70 cm. in diameter. Another is 110 cm. high and its maximum diameter measures 85 cm. In 1845, in Capirendá, Wedell found such vessels with a height of 120 cm. and a maximum diameter of 100 cm. for the wall of the belly.

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13. Various Vessels with No Indication Regarding Their Purpose, from the Collection

I. A. 410 (Chirig.). Ht. 14.5 cm. Max. dia. 8 cm. Apert. 5 cm.

(Fig. 81b).

I. A. 411 ("). Ht. 13.5 cm. Length 21 cm. (Fig. 81a).

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I. A. 597 (Izozó). " 10.5 cm. Max. dia. 16.7 cm. Apert. 15 cm.

(Fig. 72).

I. A. 599 (") " 9 cm. " " 13 cm. " 10 cm.

(Fig. 70a).

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177

We have no evidence regarding the purpose of these four vessels which are different in form from the other types of vessels. We must regard the small, double vessel I. A. 411 (cf. Fig. 81a /see p.144/) as a special result of the mixture of various, but different cultural elements. The way in which the two small dishes are joined to form a double vessel /54/ corresponds to ancient Peruvian models, while the form of the handle, fitted with a ring, is doubtless an addition of European origin. The whole has the form of a salt cellar and was perhaps made to be sold to the whites for this purpose. We must also consider the vessel I. A. 410 (cf. Fig. 81b /see p.144/) as merchandise, while the two vessels I. A. 597 and 599 seem to be manufactured for some use in festivities.

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[439]

Baked Clay Spindle Whorls

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The spindle whorls collected among the Chiriguano and Izozó are of baked clay or wood, and the Chiriguano also have some spindles with stone whorls. Because I shall deal with spindle whorls in the chapter on spinning, I wish only to

/57 cont. /

CE
283 The direction in which the threads are twisted by these Indians is generally to the left, while the two skeins which generally make up each thread are usually twisted to the right. See the two sketches shown in Figure 137 /see p.201/. The rather heavy cotton cord stretched out on the loom shown in Figure 104 /see p.176/. used for stretching the warp, is twisted to the right, but it consists of three special threads twisted to the left, which in turn are each made up of two skeins twisted to the right. The strings for the bows for shooting arrows, made of only one skein of animal hide, are twisted to the right. The rule is that all threads, whether they be caraguata threads made by hand or wool or cotton threads made with the spindle, are twisted to the left, made up of two skeins twisted to the right. In examining many threads of the Chiriguano and the Izozo, I found only two exceptions to this rule. Of the two threads wound together on the reel I. A. 413 /I. A. 513 in Fig. 91, p.147/ and each made of two skeins, one is twisted to the right and the other to the left, and the thick wool threads of the warp of the plaited hammock I. A. 448 are twisted to the right, being made of two skeins twisted to the left.

Thread in the Collection

CE
283 I. A. 675. Caraguata thread (Izozo).
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/58/

I. A. 676. Ball of cotton thread (Izozo). Dia. 9 cm.

I. A. 726. " " " " " " 9.5 cm. (Fig. 86b).

CE
283 In addition to the large number of spindles from the
126 Chiriguano and the Izozo, I obtained from these Indians a small basket which contains the raw material needed for spinning cotton thread and a spindle wrapped with cotton thread which is connected to a ball of thread of this material.

CE
283 Implements and Raw Material for Spinning, from the
285 Collection
126

I. A. 725.

a. Basket (Izozo), length 27 cm., height 12 cm., cotton seeds and raw cotton. (Fig. 86a.)

ce /58 cont./

283
323
126 b. Spindle provided with a whorl of baked clay. Length of the stick 46 cm. Diameter of the whorl 4.2 cm. Ball of cotton thread. (Fig. 86a.)

C
126 I. A. 470. Spindle (Chir.). Lgth. 44.5 cm. Wooden whorl, dia. 4.8 cm.

283 I. A. 471. " " " 36.5 cm. " " 5.3 cm.

32 (Fig. 87d)

I. A. 472. " " " 39 cm. " " 6 cm.

I. A. 473. " " " 34.5 cm. " " 5.7 cm.

I. A. 474. " " " 38 cm. " " 5.3 cm.

(Fig. 87b)

I. A. 475. " " " 40.5 cm. " " 5.8 cm.

(Fig. 85e)

I. A. 476. " " " 42.7 cm. " " 6.5 cm.

I. A. 477. " " " 38.5 cm. " " 5.2 cm.

(Fig. 87f)

I. A. 478. " " " 42 cm. " " 6 cm.

(Fig. 87a)

I. A. 479. " " " 25.5 cm. " " 4.3 cm.

(Fig. 87e)

I. A. 480. " " " 32.3 cm. " " 6 cm.

(Fig. 87c)

I. A. 481. " " " 40 cm. Stone whorl 4.8 cm.

(Fig. 88d)

I. A. 482. " " " 25.5 cm. " " 4.2 cm.

(Fig. 88e)

I. A. 483. " " " 37 cm. Baked clay whorl 5.3 cm.

(Fig. 88c)

I. A. 484. " " " 42 cm. Stone whorl 5.7 cm.

(Fig. 88f)

I. A. 485. " " " 31 cm. Baked clay whorl 4 cm.

I. A. 486. " " " 35.7 cm. " " " 6.2 cm.

(Fig. 88a)

I. A. 487. " " " 30 cm. " " " 5.3 cm.

(Fig. 88b)

I. A. 488. " " " ? cm. " " " 5 cm.

I. A. 489. " " " 35.5 cm. Wooden whorl 5.5 cm.

I. A. 687. " Izo20 " 43 cm. Wooden whorl 5.2 cm.

(Fig. 89b)

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322

/60 cont./

Plaited objects of the first type are made in such a way that the strips of one group are plaited with the strips of another group vertical to the first one, in such a way that the strips of the first group pass alternately a certain number of the strips of the second group and are passed by them, and in such a way that the meshes which go in the same direction form lines of steps. The number of the strips passed each time by one strip of the other group is generally three or two at a time, but there are cases in which only one strip is passed each time.

Among the plaited objects of this type, I obtained from the Chiriguano a large sleeping mat, small flat baskets /canastillas/, sieves, a quadrangular basket /cesta/, and a hat, and from the Izozo small flat baskets /canastillas/similar to those of the Chiriguano and two different kinds of baskets /cestas/. In addition, the Chiriguano and Chané also infrequently use fans for fanning the fire (tapèkua) plaited out of palm leaves (260).

260. Nord. 1, p. 56.

Métraux has described and shown in a drawing such a fan for fanning the fire. This fan is plaited out of the leaves of the caranday palm in the "Stufengeflechte" style, in such a way that strips of the first group pass alternately two strips of the second group and are /Plates XXVI-XXVII appear here/ /61/ passed by them. The leaflets, separated from the stem, enlase a stick which, forming the upper edge of the fan, replaces the stem of the pinnate leaves of other palms which are used by other tribes of South American Indians in the manufacture of plaited fans (261).

261. Métraux I, pp. 460 and 461 and Plate 85.

/61 cont./

Plaited Objects of the First Type (Stufengeflechte) in
 the Collection

C 126 285	I. A. 540.	Mat (Chir.)	Lgth. 1.72 m.	Width 1.50 m.	(Fig. 95)
	I. A. 541.	Flat basket (Chir.)	Dia. 39 cm.		(Fig. 92b.)
	I. A. 542.	" " "	" 42 cm.		
	I. A. 543.	" " "	" 43 cm.		
	I. A. 544.	" " "	" 38 cm.		
	I. A. 545.	" " "	" 38 cm.		
	I. A. 546.	" " "	" 32 cm.		(Fig. 93.)
Ce [285]	I. A. 744.	" " (Izozo)	" 36 cm.		
	I. A. 745.	" " "	" 37 cm.		
	I. A. 746.	" " "	" 46 cm.		(Fig. 92a.)
	I. A. 547.	Sieve (Chiriguano).	" 38 cm.		
	I. A. 548.	" "	" 39 cm.		(Fig. 94.)
	I. A. 549.	" "	" 39 cm.		
Ce 285 126	I. A. 551.	Basket "	Lgth. 32 cm.	Ht. 16 cm.	(Fig. 101)
	I. A. 677.	" (Izozo)	" 33 cm.	" 16.5 cm.	(Figs. 98a, 100)
	I. A. 678.	" "	" 28 cm.	" 14 cm.	(Fig. 98b)
	I. A. 725. a.	" "	" 27 cm.	" 12 cm.	(Fig. 86a)
	I. A. 679.	" "	" 21 cm.	" 22 cm.	
	I. A. 680.	" "	" 39 cm.	" 31 cm.	
	I. A. 681.	" "	" 27 cm.	" 23 cm.	(Fig. 96).
	I. A. 682.	" "	" 31 cm.	" 26 cm.	
	I. A. 683.	" "	" 26 cm.	" 21 cm.	(Fig. 97)
	I. A. 684.	" "	" 55 cm.	" 29 cm.	
	I. A. 685.	" "	" 44 cm.	" 30 cm.	
C 285 [291]	I. A. 686.	" "	" 46 cm.	" 24 cm.	
	I. A. 512.	Small bag with cover (Chir.)	" 9.5 cm.		
	I. A. 554.	Hat (Chiriguano).	Ht. 12 cm.	Dia. 30 cm.	(Fig. 99.)

The material of the plaited objects that I have mentioned above consists of strips of palm leaves or strips of cane, and that of the Chiriguano basket I. A. 551, of strips of wood. Because these Indians do not have palms with pinnate leaves available, they must use the peltate leaves of the caranday, from which comes the difference between the plaited objects of these Indians and those of other Tribes.

C /62 cont./

Ce
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531
[113]

Brazil/, Berlin, 1905, pp. 330 ff.; and Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas/ The Technical Bases for the Ornamentation of the Natives of South America/.

C
285
[126] The three sieves that I obtained from the Chiriguano correspond to the flat baskets described above with respect to their exterior form and to the rudiment of the plaiting. They differ from the latter only in that their strips are a certain distance apart and in that one strip of one group always passes only one of the other group, with the result that the ornamentation of the surface consisting of parallel lines which is shown in the little baskets is not produced. These sieves are also provided with handles like the flat baskets of the Chiriguano. A sketch of a Chané sieve shown by Nordenskiöld shows that these Indians also use such sieves (263). Flat baskets and sieves analogous to

263. Nord. 1, Fig. 124.

those mentioned are described by Métraux and shown by him in drawings (264).

264. Métraux I, pp. 457-460, Plates 83, 84.

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[177] The technique of the Chiriguano hat (I. A. 554) is not original, but no doubt was received from the whites and perhaps was directly taught to the Indians in the missions. For us the technique of this hat is without interest, except for the fact that this technique is also applied by the Izo20 to the making of a type of basket, a specimen of which is shown in Figure 98b /see p. 158/. The manufacture of the hat begins at the center, and the strips, the beginning of which is plaited, are augmented by the addition of other strips. See Figure 99 /see p. 158/. The style of plaiting is like that of all the other objects of this kind among the Chiriguano and Chané, so that one strip of one group always passes two strips of the other group.

C
Ce
286 /64 cont./

There may be variations in these braids according to the difference in the number of skeins plaited and the number of strips which are passed each time by one strip of the braid, as Figures 139-141 show /see p.201/. The greater the number of skeins in the braid, the more the form of one string of the braid takes on the appearance of a band. Cf. Figure 32 a and b /see p. 62/.

Ce
[101] To the second of the four kinds of plaited objects into which all the plaited objects of the South American Indians can be classified belong those which are plaited in such a way that one row of sticks, threads, or similar things are united so that a double thread passes the row, continuously or at certain intervals, and in such a way that the two individual threads of the double thread encircle in each rotation one or more of the little sticks or threads of the row.

C
126
352
513
286 Among the objects plaited by this technique there are two Chiriguano hammocks and one Izo20 saddle covering in the collection.

Ce
492
286
126 Objects Plaited with Double Thread, from the Collection

I. A. 448. Hammock (Chirig.). Wool. Lgth. 2.60 m. Width 0.75 m. (Fig. 102b and 109.)

I. A. 449. Hammock " " " 2.05 m. " 0.60 m. (Fig. 110.)

I. A. 844. Saddle covering (Izo20) " 1.21 m. " 0.57 m. (Fig. 103b and 129.)

C
352
286 The threads of the hammocks mentioned above are made of wool and that applies not only to the warp threads but also to the double threads. The manufacture of these hammocks is explained in two schematic drawings shown in Figures 109 and 110 /see Figs. 127 and 128, p.190/. The diagram in Figures 109 /Fig. 127/ shows the place in hammock I. A. 448 where the double thread begins to pass through the row of warp threads. The arrangement of the warp threads can be explained only by the manner in which a warp of one continuous thread was made first and in the form of a sleeve, /65/ as the warp of weavings done on a loom

/65 cont. /

45

Wooden Hoops for Storing Possessions, in the Collection

• [126]

- | | | |
|------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| I. A. 580. | A pair of hoops (Chiriguano). | Diameter 53 cm. |
| I. A. 581. | " " " " | " 51 cm. |
| I. A. 582. | " " " " | " 46 cm. |
| I. A. 583. | " " " " | " 43 cm. (Fig. 41). |
| I. A. 584. | One hoop | " 48 cm. |

[285]

In the Chiriguano houses in Macharete I found hanging wooden hoops, which, usually in pairs, served for storing various possessions of the Indians. The circular area of the hoops is filled in with strips of cane that are stretched across the hoop and interwoven as Figure 41 shows. The hoops are provided with strings or strips of leather in order to be hung in the houses (268).

268. See Métraux I, p. 471, Figs. 126 and 127.

Modern Plaited Objects in the Collection

285

126

- | | | | |
|------------|----------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| I. A. 503. | Basket (Chiriguano). | Diam. 18 cm. | Height 12.5 cm. |
| I. A. 550. | " " | " 27 cm. | " 13 cm. |
| I. A. 552. | " " | " 31 cm. | " 23 cm. |
| I. A. 553 | Flat basket | " 56 cm. | " 16 cm. |

[171]

285

/66/ I obtained from the Chiriguano some baskets whose technique is completely different from the technique of the baskets described above. They are so similar to the baskets commonly used by the Paraguayans that we must consider them products of an absolutely modern craft, and it is not necessary for us to deal with their technique. Nordenskiöld and Métraux show in sketches and describe such baskets of the Chiriguano, among which some have handles and others lids (269).

269. Nord. 2, p. 171 and Figs. 53 and 51.
Métraux I, pp. 444-453, Plates 73-77.

Chane SF8
Izozo.
Paressi SP19

/66 cont./

The Technique of Weaving

On the occasion of the publication of a Paressí-Kabichí
/Paressi-Cabishi/ loom (270), I called attention to the great

270. Max Schmidt. Die Paressi-Kabichí,
Ethnologische Ergebnisse der Expedition zu
den Quellen des Jauru und Juruena in Jahre
1910 /The Paressi-Cabishi, Ethnological
Results of the Expedition to the Headwaters
of the Jauru and Juruena in the Year 1910/,
Baessler-Archiv., Vol. IV, No. 4/5, 1914,
pp. 214 and 215.

similarity among all the looms known up to now among the
Aruaco /Arawak/ tribes. The loom that I obtained from the
Izozó corresponds in form and construction to the Paressí-
Kabichí loom described and shown in a sketch by me, but it
demonstrates, discounting some insignificant anomalies, a per-
fection which Nordenskiöld has already mentioned (271).

271. Nord. 2, pp. 174-176.

Loom and Other Implements for Weaving, from the
Collection

- I. A. 500. Wooden bodkin for arranging the warp threads
(Chiriguano). Length 20.5 cm. (Fig. 91a.)
- I. A. 513. Reel (Chiriguano). Length 25 cm. (Fig. 91f.)
- I. A. 741. Loom (Izozó). Height 1.19 m. Length of the upper
horizontal bar 56 cm. Length of the lower hori-
zontal bar 57 cm. Height of the warp 83 cm.
Width of the warp 25 cm. Length of the shuttle
28 cm. Length of the two swords for weaving 44.5
and 41.5 cm. (Fig. 104.)
- I. A. 727. Shuttle (Izozó). Lgth. 33.3 cm. (Fig. 91d.)
- I. A. 728. " " " 27 cm. (Fig. 91e.)
- I. A. 671. Sword for weaving " " 38 cm.
- I. A. 672. " " " 45 cm.
- I. A. 673. " " " 30 cm. (Fig. 91c.)

/67 cont./

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286 In order to be able to form easily by a single manipulation the second formation of the warp threads, in which the even threads, which were below in the normal formation are brought up, passing the odd threads, the mechanism represented by the diagram in Figure 106 is constructed. As this figure shows, this mechanism consists of small loops of cotton thread which encircle the even threads of the warp and are tied to one another. This Izozó mechanism is different from the corresponding one of the Paressi-Kabichí loom, in that it is not provided, like the latter, with a small stick which serves to join the aforementioned loops to one another.

ce
286 /68/ By pulling the warp its position can be varied so that the part of the warp which is being worked is always at the proper height and on the front side of the loom. This can also be effected by moving the lower horizontal pole of the loom frame, which the warp threads are always pulling.

In order to be able to pass the woof thread alternately through the two divisions of the warp threads formed by the string and loops mentioned in the foregoing, these divisions are opened by means of a kind of wooden sword, of which the collection has five specimens in addition to the two which go with the loom. Two of these measure more than a meter, since they are intended for working with much larger looms than the one shown in Figure 104. This implement at the same time is used to fix the woof thread to the finished part of the woven material after it has passed through the warp.

The shuttle, by means of which the woof thread is passed through the two divisions of the warp threads alternately from left to right and from right to left, consists of a simple little stick on which the thread is wrapped. In the list of objects in the collection, two specimens of such shuttles from the Izozó are mentioned, in addition to the one which belongs to the loom. See Figures 91 d and e.

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286
●126 In addition to these implements I acquired two others in the form of a bodkin and made of wood, which are used to arrange the warp threads. One of these is from the Chiriguano, and the other from the Izozó. Combs, which were used by the ancient Peruvian for this purpose, are not used by the Chiriguano or the Chané.

/68 cont./

In addition to this usual type of loom, there can also be found among the Chané and Chiriguano other special types which correspond to the ancient Peruvian types of looms for weaving bands. The fact that the mechanism of these looms makes possible the formation of more divisions of the warp threads, makes more variations in the ornamentation possible. Nordenskiöld shows such a Chiriguano loom in a drawing (273). No doubt this kind

273. Nord. 2, Fig. 55, N. 4.

of loom is a product of the influence of the culture of the ancient Peruvians.

For different purposes, very different weavings, most of which have already been mentioned in the chapter on clothing, can be made with a loom provided with a warp in the form of a ring as described above. With regard to the measurements of these fabrics, I refer the reader to what I have already said in this respect. The material of all of these woven fabrics consists of cotton or wool threads.

Woven Goods Made on the Loom Provided with a Warp
 in the Form of a Ring, from the Collection

1. Tipoyas. I. A. 820, 832, and 838 (Izoosó) (I. A. 820, Fig. 114).
2. Ponchos. I. A. 423-427 (Chiriguano) (I. A. 426, Fig. 118).
 I. A. 808-810, 812-815, 819, 823-825, 830, 831,
 833-836 (Izoosó) (I. A. 823, Fig. 117).
3. Mantas. I. A. 585 (Chiriguano).
 I. A. 816-818, 825-829 (Izoosó) (I. A. 818, Fig. 120).
4. Bands of cotton for men's hair. I. A. 633-660 (Izoosó) (I. A. 653,
 Figs. 30b and 108; I. A. 655, Figs. 30c and 109;
 I. A. 656, Figs. 30d and 110; I. A. 660, Figs. 30a
 and 107).

/Plates XXVIII-XXXI appear here./

/69/

5. Bands of human hair for men's hair. I. A. 739 and 765 (Izoosó)
 (I. A. 739, Figs. 31 and 111).

[Text continues on p. 180]

C
Ce /69 cont. //291
126 6. Fajas.

I. A. 428-441 (Chiriguano) (I. A. 423, Figs. 119b and 123; I. A. 430, Fig. 124; I. A. 436, Figs. 119a and 121).

I. A. 803-807 (Izozo) (I. A. 803, Figs. 119c and 122).

C
492
126 7. Saddle covers.

I. A. 842 (Izozo). Of wool. Length 0.69 m. Width 0.67 m.

I. A. 843 " " " 1.42 m. " 0.62 m. (Figs. 103a and 126.)

C
415
126 8. Carrying bag (Chiriguano). Of wool. Length 1.07 m. Width 0.45 m. (Fig. 131a.)[492] 9. Double bags for carrying loads on asses or horses.

I. A. 445. (Chirig.) Wool. Entire lgth. 92 cm. Width 37 cm. (Figs. 115 and 131b.)

C
492
415
126 I. A. 811. (Izozo) Wool. Entire lgth. 93 cm. Width 46.5 cm. (Fig. 132.)

I. A. 821. " Cotton. " " 94 cm. " 40 cm.

I. A. 822. " " " " 106 cm. " 36 cm.

I. A. 839. " " " " 97 cm. " 35 cm.

I. A. 840. " " " " 104 cm. " 36 cm.

I. A. 841. " Wool " " 92 cm. " 46 cm.

Ce
291
286 Of the three tipoys in the collection acquired from the Izozo, one (I. A. 820) consists of a fabric in the form of a sleeve made with the warp in this form. The woolen tipoy (I. A. 832) was lengthened by sewing together two such woven pieces, one beside the other. The structure of the weaving clearly shows the thread which was extended between the two vertical poles of the loom before making the warp, and which remained in the cloth. Tipoy I. A. 838 is not typical and consists of a flat piece of weaving whose two facing edges were sewed together.

C
Ce
291
286 With regard to the making of ponchos, we must mention that those of the Chiriguano consist of two pieces of woven material sewed to each other in the direction of the slit of the poncho, while Izozo ponchos most often consist of a single piece of weaving made across the entire width of the loom and therefore do not show a seam in the middle part such as Chiriguano ponchos show. From the stiff edges in the direction of the woof, it can clearly be seen that the special mechanism

C /72 cont./

286
 352
 126
 Weavings Made without a Special Mechanism for
 Making the Divisions of the Threads of the
 Warp, from the Collection

I. A. 450. Hammock (Chirig.) of wool. Lgth 2.85 m. Width 0.60 m.
 (Fig. 102a.)

CC
 286
 415
 126
 I. A. 768. Carrying net provided with a woven caraguata band
 (Izoño). Length of band 49 cm. (Figs. 125 and 127.)

482
 I. A. 802. Band for a carrying net (Izoño). Caraguata. Length
 49 cm.

C
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 482
 (352)
 With regard to their exterior structure too, the bands with
 which many of the carrying nets (of the Izoño and some of the
 Chiriguano ones) and one Chiriguano hammock are provided
 are similar to the weavings. But these /Plates XXXII-XXXV
 appear here/ /73/ objects are made without any special mech-
 anism for making the divisions of the warp threads.

Figure 125 shows the structure of the band of the net
 I. A. 768. (Cf. Fig. 133 /see p. 204/.) The diagram shows the
 way in which these bands are made. First the longitudinal
 threads are stretched in a way similar to the manner of stretch-
 ing the warp threads of common weavings between the horizontal
 poles of the frame of the loom, but without using the special
 thread extended between the two vertical poles of the loom.
 Then they pass a transverse thread, which corresponds to the wool
 thread of common weavings, through the two rows of longitudinal
 threads alternately from the right to the left and from the left
 to the right, in such a way that this thread is left alternately
 under one thread of the back row of longitudinal threads and on
 top of one thread of the front row. Thus the manufacture of
 these bands and of hammock I. A. 450 is different from that
 of common weavings principally in the fact that the wool thread
 passes simultaneously through the threads of the front side and
 of the back side of the warp. Sundry irregularities in the course
 of the threads of the warp show that weavings of this kind have
 been made without using a mechanism for making the divisions
 of the warp threads.

/74 con./

Small mesh, but among those of the Izoño those with big mesh are the rule. Thus the mesh of the Izoño nets used for carrying the large water jars is also very large. Most of these Izoño nets have a special band that goes over the forehead of the bearer. The structure of these bands, which are made of caraguate, wool, or cotton, have already been described by us in the chapter on wearings. Cf. Figure 133 /see p. 200/ and the diagram shown in Figure 125 /see p. 196/.

The collection has two net bags from the Izoño which are made in such a way that the whole rectangular net is folded in the middle and the pieces which are on top of one another are laced together with a thread on the two longitudinal sides.

In the way described in the foregoing they also make the net of the fishing implement L.A. 194 described in the chapter on fishing and shown in Figure 21. Because this implement is used to catch small fish, the net has very small mesh. The traps described among the hunting implements are also made in the same way.

/75/

• Back-carrying Net Made by the Technique Called "Knotenstech" in German, But Using the Knot Called "Sheet Knot" in English from the Collection

L.A. 272. Net for carrying loads (Chiriguano). Strips of animal hide. Length 0.85 m.

This net is made like the nets described in the foregoing, made of hide, but the knot used is the type called "sheet knot" in English and "Knotenstech" in German. This knot is shown in Figure 138, c and d. According to Nordenskiöld (177), the

177. Nord. 2. p. 164.

Chiriguano also have fishing nets which are made using this type of knot.

/75 cont./

Nets in the Collection That Are Made with Loops and
without the Use of Knots

L.A. 565-568.	Net for carrying loads (Chirig.).	Lgth.	0.93 m. 1.80 m.
L.A. 567.	" " " " " "		1.15 m. (Figs. 134 and 143.)
L.A. 568.	" " " " " "		1.70 m. (Fig. 144.)

From the Chiriguano I obtained several nets for carrying burdens, which are made without using knots, by connecting the thread in the fashion illustrated by Figures 143 and 144 and which is common among many tribes of the Chaco, as happens among the Tapieté, Matako /Mataco/, Tobá, Chorote /Choroti/, and Chirupí /Chirupí/.

The great number of nets that I acquired from the Izoño are made with knots without exception, and we must therefore assume that these Indians are not familiar with or do not use the technique of making nets with simple loops and without applying knots, and that this technique, called "Schlingtechnik" in German, is used only by the Chiriguano or a part of them. Nordenskiöld does not mention this technique among the Chiriguano, and in the synoptic outline in which the several techniques of making nets are illustrated the Chiriguano are not mentioned in Column 5 among the Indian tribes which use the technique of making nets without applying knots. Of the burden-carrying nets made of caraguata thread that I acquired from the Chiriguano, ten are made without knots being applied, by the technique called "Schlingtechnik," and only seven by applying knots by the technique called "Knotentechnik." We can therefore assume that this part of the Chiriguano at least uses the technique of making nets without applying knots, although this opinion is contrary to that of Nordenskiöld, who says (278) that

278. Nord. 2, p. 116.

all of the nets made by this technique found among the Chiriguano and the Chané were acquired from the Chaco Indians.

/75 cont./

Net Bags Made by the Toba, from the Collection

- I. A. 572. Bag for carrying burdens. (Found among the Chiriguano)
Length 0.70 cm.
- I. A. 845. " " " " (Found among the Izozo)
Length 57 cm.

I acquired two net bags, one from the Izozo and the other from the Chiriguano, which show differences from the techniques mentioned in the foregoing. The Izozo and the Chiriguano told me that they themselves had not made these bags and that they had obtained them from the Toba.

/76/

Sewing

With the acquisition of European clothes, naturally the sewing of these clothes to make and mend them became general among the Chiriguano and Chané. Modern sewing needles are an article eagerly sought by them today. But undoubtedly these Indians had already known the technique of sewing with a needle with an eye for a long time through their contact with the culture of the ancient Peruvians. Although the native textiles are, in most cases, made in one piece, needlework coming from other cultures is often added to the native technique of these textiles. I mentioned that a large Izozo tipoy is made of two smaller tipoys sewed together. The ponchos of the Chiriguano in Machareti are made of two pieces sewed together. The four edges of the Chiriguano and Izozo ponchos most of the time are turned and sewed to the rest of the fabric. In the making of the bags for carrying burdens, especially the double bags for loading draft horses or burros, sewing is used.

Among the cuyas that I obtained from the Chiriguano and Izozo there are several which show breaks mended by sewing. See Figure 25a /see p. 51/. The two diagrams shown in Figure 130 a and b serve to illustrate the way in which this sewing is done, with cotton thread on the two Izozo cuyas I. A. 666 and 667, and with fine wire on the Chiriguano cuya (I. A. 460). The cuya I. A. 667 shows two such repairs done by sewing.

/76 cont./

On the Cooking of Meals

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252
[415]
[412]

Most of the Chiriguano and Chané utensils used /Plates XXXVI-XXXVII appear here/ /77/ for cooking meals have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters, such as pots for cooking food and for fermenting chicha, dishes with holes in the center of the bottom for steaming maize meal, vessels for frying /fritar/ maize, wooden mortars with their pestles, and sieves. For frying /fritar/ meat or fish, the Chiriguano and Chané do not use the quadrangular or triangular stands which are so common among other South American Indians, but instead simple wooden spits (282). Also, as we have already

282. Nord. 2, p. 55. Métraux I, p. 352
and Figure 22.

said, the grater for grating mandioca roots is not found among these Indians.

CE
[415]
[412]

We have yet to mention two other utensils used by the Chiriguano and Chané for fixing their meals, the large wooden dish and the spatula for stirring foods or drinks when they are boiling or fermenting.

Large Wooden Dishes (Platters) in the Collection

- C
415
● 126
- I. A. 574. (Chirig) Lgth 0.83 m. Width 0.39 m. (Fig. 19.)
I. A. 575. " " 1 m. " 0.325 m.

Unfortunately I did not obtain data regarding the special use of these large wooden dishes which I acquired from the Chiriguano in Machareti. As Fig. 19 shows, these large wooden dishes are provided with the same handles as the smaller wooden dishes which serve as vessels for eating.

/77 cont./

Spatulas for Stirring Foods, Which Are in the Collection

- C
 412
 126
- I. A. 501. (Chiriguano) Length 49.5 cm.
 - I. A. 502. " " 24.5 cm. (Fig. 21)
 - I. A. 576. " " 114 cm. (Fig. 20b.)
 - I. A. 577. " " 93 cm.
 - I. A. 578. " " 62 cm. (Fig. 20a.)
 - I. A. 579. " " 66.5 cm.

C
 Ce
 412
 [531]
 [171]

These wooden spatulas for stirring are used by the Chiriguano and Chané for stirring the bubbling crock of maize when it is being fermented. Some of these spatulas have decorations on their handles similar to those of the corresponding spatulas of the Guató Indians. Nordenskiöld shows in a sketch such a Chiriguano spatula with a zigzag decoration (283), and beside

C
 412
 531
 237

283. Nord. 2, Fig. 17 A.

it (284) another form of these utensils, from the Chiriguano.

284. Nord. 2, Fig. 17 B.

which consists of the shoulder blade of a large mammal, attached to a wooden handle (285).

285. Nord. 2, p. 55. See Métraux I.
Figs. 33 and 34.

The Making of Fermented Drinks

C
 273

Concerning the making of maize chicha, that is, the national drink of the Chiriguano, Nordenskiöld says the following (286):

286. Nord. 1, p. 237.

C
 [412]

First the maize is /78/ ground up in large mortars, then sifted and boiled in large pots with water. A part of this mash,

/79 cont./

C
Cc
402
191
413
We must still note that the Chiriguano and Chané transport fish in the same way as the neighboring tribes of the Chaco, by stringing them on a cord provided with a big wooden needle (295).

295. Nord. 2, p. 46.

Implements for Storing Objects

C
Cc
352
353
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Most of the objects that serve for storing things have also been mentioned in preceding chapters, such as the various kinds of baskets and the wooden hoops which are hung in the houses for storing sundry things in them. The net bag and the carrying net do not serve only for carrying, but also for storing things in them. Baked clay vessels are not only used for storing liquids, but are also used for storing many other things which have a special value or are old memorabilia of the family (296). Furthermore,

296. Nord. 1, p. 179.

C
Cc
[237]
they put up special hooks for hanging various things in the houses. Such a hook is shown in a drawing by Nordenskiöld (297).

297. Nord. 1, p. 177 and Fig. 86.

and Métraux shows such a hook made of a deer's leg (298).

298. Métraux I, Fig. 128.

Art

Flutes and a Whistle in the Collection

- C
534
● 126
I. A. 491. Flute, "sereté" (Chirig.). Wood. Lgth. 17 cm. Width 2.7 cm.
(Fig. 33b.)
I. A. 492. " " " " " 20 cm. Width 2.5 cm.
(Fig. 33a.)
I. A. 493. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Length 43 cm.

/79 cont./

534 I. A. 494. Flute (Chiriguano). Cane. Lgth. 41 cm. (Fig. 34a.)

[126] I. A. 495. Double whistle " " " 33.5 and 7 cm.

(Fig. 34b.)

[126] From the Chiriguano in Machareti I acquired two different kinds of flutes, the ones made of cane and the others made of wood. The two wooden flutes I. A. 491 and 492 (cf. Figs. 93a and 93b /see Fig. 33a and b, p. 89/) are of particular importance because of their similarity in form, and in the case of I. A. 491 of decoration as well, to a special kind of balance beam of the ancient Peruvians, and for that reason they have already been dealt with several times in ethnological literature. These two flutes are doubtless quite old specimens which perhaps had already been used by several generations. They are called "sereré" by the Chiriguano, and they are of hard wood bored from one end to the other. In the middle of the upper edge of the lozenge of the apparatus, there are two small perforations . . . A similar flute shown in a sketch by V. Rosen (299)

[301]

299. V. Rosen, op. cit., p. 220.

shows that these perforations serve for a string to pass through, in order that the flute may be worn as a chest ornament.

534 Nordenskiöld (300) has already called attention to the surprising

174 300. Nord. 3. pp. 187 and 188.

191 resemblance between these flutes and a special form of balance beam of the ancient Peruvians. These, numerous specimens of which are known, are no doubt classified as balance beams because of the fact that on some specimens /80/ the cord which passes through the horizontal perforation and which has at one end a weight and at the other end a loop, or some such similar thing for holding the objects that are to be weighed, has been preserved. V. Rosen, describing and showing in a drawing one of these Chiriguano flutes, which is like flute I. A. 491 except that it still has the cord which passes through the two holes on the upper

/90 cont./

000 preceding. I must also cite A. Métraux's publication, "Les
792 Hommes-Dieux chez les Chiriguano e dans l'Amérique de Sud
[13] Men-Gods among the Chiriguano and in South America/" (363).

363. In the Revista del Instituto de Etnología
de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol.
II, No. 1, Tucumán, 1931.

in which he deals with the cases, repeated several times, in which
some individuals among the Chiriguano appear as Messiahs and,
acquiring many proselytes, gave the mission administrations much
to do.

796
[126] Plaited Objects Used in Religious Celebrations,
from the Collection

I. A. 1439. (Chiriguano) Length 70 cm. (Fig. 43b.)

I. A. 1440. " " 37 cm. (Fig. 43a.)

[71] Plaited objects like those mentioned above are also very com-
mon among the Paraguayans and made in the same way. This
796 custom of making such plaited figures and having them blessed,
797 as the Chiriguano also do, is connected with the Catholic ritual,
197 and the Chiriguano no doubt received it from the missionaries along
with the other rites of the Catholic religion (364).

364. See the opposite opinion of Métraux I.
p. 462.

532 The masks that the Chiriguano make to carry during the Carnival
[527] fiestas are also modern objects. Some such Chiriguano masks are
shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and Métraux (365).

365. Nord. 1, Fig. 119. Métraux I,
Plate 86 and Fig. 121.